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A

VIEW

OF THE

INTERNAL POLICY

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

In TWO PARTS.

PART I.

Of the Alterations in the Conſtitution, from the Reign of HENRY the Seventh to the End of GEORGE the Second; repreſenting the reciprocal Effects, which theſe and Commerce have had on each other.

PART II.

Of the Various Stages of Political Society, and the Principles upon which they move, drawn from Hiſtory, and Nature. With an Application to the Intereſt of GREAT BRITAIN, ſhewing the great Improvement this Iſland is capable of in reſpect to Numbers, Riches, and Power; and that it does not depend on Foreign Connexions, however uſeful, but on itſelf alone.

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TO THE

POLITICIANS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

GENTLEMEN,

AS a Brother Labourer for the public Good, I have ventured to dedicate to you the following ſheets, expreſsly wrote on Politicks; nor could I find where more properly to addreſs myſelf than to the Profeſſors of the Science treated on, who abound in this our country.

Nature inclines Men every where to love the ſociety they are members of; but where a conſtitution excells, as in Great Britain, the paſſion ought to be proportionally ſtronger: Yet even here we find the ſelf-paſſions and private ſyſtem often warp and bias its courſe.

Nor is this the only evil. For though we may equally deſign the public good, yet it is often not clearly underſtood; and the means of procuring it may be a ſubject of great diſpute and violence.

Let

Let us try at a definition of Politicks :—It is not the art of deceiving, bribing, or taking advantage of innocence or ignorance ; nor is it ruling by terror and force of arms ; but a plain ſcience, by Integrity and Good Will, to remove jealouſy and ſuſpicion, and place confidence in their ſtead ;—to increaſe the circulation of mutual benefits ; to add to our numbers and ſtrength, at the ſame time enriching or benefiting every individual.

Theſe are the Ends here underſtood of that prudence in Government called Politicks.—But the mind

of man is greatly confined; and Paſſion for the moſt part rules, to whom Reaſon is often made a ſlave, and few men are able to take in a full and generous plan of ſociety. Thus we ſee all great ſocieties are ſplit into many leſſer ones; among theſe there grew certain Maxims and Opinions, which are caught as it were by contact; One man's jealouſy and fear affects his neighbour, which, when worked up, ſhall have a re-action upon him by reflexion, and ſo to each other, till their nerves tremble with fury.

Thus

Thus are ingendered all kinds of party rage among a people, which ariſes for the moſt part from the ſame root, as love of ſociety and their country, and is a kind of natural evil we cannot be cured of, without ſuffering a greater; for to be without this paſſion or feeling for the publick is a condition that renders a man unworthy of the benefits of ſociety.

I muſt confeſs, I honour a Taylor or Cobler, who feels for his Country, before a Lord who does not, and

eſteem him not only a better Man but better Politician, and worthier of Truſt; for a defect in the proper affections of a man is the greateſt of all diſqualifications.

How many common Soldiers have died, in the late War, as nobly as Hiſtory can furniſh among its Heroes! What ſhall we ſay for the Seaman, who, being wounded in the belly, and holding up his bowels with his hands, on hearing the ſhout of Victory, joined his feeble voice to the general cry, and dropt down dead?

Happy

Happy and Great muſt a Country be that furniſhes ſuch a ſpirit.—Theſe men muſt feel, though in their low condition, for the Honour of their Country.—We freely own the Politicians of the lower order are ſubject to miſtake, as their Knowledge is confined; but then they are not tempted to reaſon falſly, to diſguiſe and palliate, as their betters have ſometimes done, by which means they are often in the right, though they are liable to be miſled by thoſe who have won their confidence to the great diſturbance of Government, and pain to themſelves; and I muſt

confeſs to have myſelf ſuffered many uneaſineſes and vexations of mind about public affairs, without ſufficient cauſe.

For theſe reaſons in order to bring myſelf to ſome ſtability, I ſat down to conſider the ſubject of Government, to make myſelf ſo far a Maſter of it, as to be ſomething more conſiſtent with myſelf; and I was enabled to purſue it, by being in a diſtant Kingdom, where I could in repoſe ſpread the objects before me, and conſider them with coolneſs.—I here preſent them to you, Gentlemen, for

examination

examination and cenſure; if there ſhould be found ſufficient merit to induce ſome more able hand to undertake the Subject, it would give me great pleaſure; but if it ſhould influence ſome Politicians to put in execution ſome uſeful Plan for the public Good, I ſhall enjoy the ſummit of my wiſhes.

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THE Reader is not to expect an entire new set of Thoughts, the Design being to come at Truth from certain known Facts and Principles—No one presumes to censure the Axioms of the Mathematician —Thus in things which belong to us, and of which we can have certain Ideas and self-evident Principles, our Reasoning ought to be deduced from thence.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN a ſubject is entered upon, in order to be thoroughly inveſtigated, it is frequently found to have ſo great a connexion with others, as not to be explained ſeparately. Thus when trade ſhall be conſidered properly, it will be found to be a branch of politicks, and adapted to certain conſtitutions only; and to underſtand its progreſs in Great Britain, the revolutions of government and change of conſtitution muſt be attended to.

BOOK the FIRST.

CHAP. I.

Definition of Riches.

THE abuſe or indefinite uſe of words, has in no one article of human reaſoning cauſed greater confuſion in ideas, than the calling wealth or riches by the name of money: — Riches, in reſpect to a nation, are the univerſal plenty of all neceſſaries, as food, raiment, houſes, and furniture, proviſion for war, *&c.* Money, as gold or ſilver coin, are properly the medium of exchange, but by its quantity may become, and is an article of commerce itſelf; yet, where it moſt abounds, as in Portugal, it makes but a ſmall proportion of the riches of that country, though the country itſelfis extremely poor. And nothing is ſo erroneous, as to judge of the riches of a country by the quantity of gold and ſilver in it: A country may be rich without any in reſpect to itſelf; but as thoſe metals are of univerſal

ſal value, which no other commodity is, it is highly neceſſary for every nation to have ſufficiently of it for their own uſe, and indiſpenſably ſo to act in any ſhape out of their own dominions.

CHAP. II.

Commerce, its progreſs.

THE exchanging commodity is of ſuch neceſſity, that the moſt uncivilized ſavages are conſtrained to it. Although they make ſmall account of proviſions, their arms, cloathing, and furniture of their hut, are with them important property.

Next to theſe are warlike Republicks, as Lacedemon and Rome. The idea of Lycurgus was to form an army of the whole people, and by a diviſion of lands, giving ſubſiſtence to as many as the country could maintain; — arms were their ſole ſtudy, the labour of the lands was a buſineſs for ſlaves.

Rome in its beginning was much the ſame, except the Romans condeſcended to

labour with their own hands; among these there was but little more room for trade than among savages.

Monarchy being calculated for magnificence and expence, is favourable for trade, as its luxury consumes much; for in proportion to the consumption must be the supply, and to the supply artizans, masters of various kinds, merchants, &c. But monarchy, when absolute, has this ill-convenience, the rich are never secure, the merchant trades with fear and trembling; if he is rich, he appears poor, and is for ever thinking to escape to some secure place, to which he is invited with open arms by the trading republick.

CHAP. III.

Republick of Commerce.

A Republick of commerce should be securely situated, which is of more importance than the riches of the soil; it should have a ready communication with neighbouring

neighbouring monarchies, ſo as to become, by the exchange of their produce and fabricks, the factor and merchant between them; by its ſecurity it becomes the warehouſe of neighbouring nations, by which means it cannot be overſtocked with unperiſhable uſeful things, and every contrivance will be invented to preſerve periſhable. All nations in their fullneſs ſell to them; and all in turns are by their neceſſities obliged to buy, often the very thing they have ſold. — Thus furniſhed with materials of all ſorts, and puſhed on by neceſſity, the poorer ſort being obliged to labour, manufactures are ſet on foot with ſucceſs.

CHAP. IV.

Politicks of theſe Republicks.

THE policy of theſe powers is peace; yet they are capable of making a figure in war, eſpecially on the defenſive. A naval ſtrength is their property, as being at ſea more expert, and the expence of

ſupplies in theſe armaments is ſo very great, they are not to be found except in great trading countries that are glutted with all kinds of merchandize : — For land expeditions they are obliged to their neighbours for aſſiſtance. Sometimes an extraordinary genius for arms ariſes, who, with mercenary troops, ſhall ſtand againſt nations the moſt warlike, having the advantage of carrying the wars where they pleaſe, from their being able to furniſh and feed their armies with ſo much greater convenience. A war ſometimes may become eligible; for, beyond a certain degree, wealth and abundance become a clog, ſtop circulation, and corrupt in the common weal, as the overflowing of the blood often does in the human body. A war then becomes neceſſary, as it diſſipates ſuperfluity, exerciſes the faculties of thoſe in power, proves their capacity or weakneſs, gives a new ſpring and life to the whole machine. The Carthaginians had frequent wars, probably for this reaſon; in their laſt with the Romans, they

were

were ruined by Hannibal's victories; they were more afraid of their General than of their enemies; him and his army they ruined; the Romans once turning the ſcale never ſuffered them to riſe more, not foreſeeing how nearly the fate and liberty of Rome depended on its having ſo powerful a neighbour to keep its power and virtue in exerciſe.

CHAP. V.

The difference of the internal Trade between a Monarchy and Republick.

THE conſumption of all ſorts of neceſſaries in a free mercantile nation, is very great; every member has the uſeful and convenient, which, tho' the exceſs of luxury ſhould be baniſhed, will in value exceed the conſumption of a monarchy, where the extraordinary expence of the court and nobility is more than ballanced by the extreme poverty of the lower people; this creates a great internal circulation or home trade.

BOOK the SECOND.

CHAP I.

Antient Conſtitution of England.

ON the decreaſe of the Roman empire, a new ſpecies of government, ſprung from Germany, ſpread over Europe, which conſiſted of many petty princes and principalities, under one head; from whom in a certain manner flowed all their dignities and powers, like that commonwealth of princes, which at preſent form the Germanic empire under the Emperor.

When Henry VII. aſcended the throne of England, the principal part of the land was in poſſeſſion of the nobility, attended with a princely power, or in the hands of the Church. The free cities, boroughs, and free-holders, were of ſmall account, nor were the Commons in parliament much more than the ſervants of the Nobles. Every nobleman for the moſt part living in his

own

own caſtle as a prince; the uſe of his lands was to procure and feed his followers, in which conſiſted all his importance; the ſcience of dreſs, equipage, and other extravagant arts, were uſeleſs where there was no rivalſhip: As arms and power were their reigning paſſions, they muſt be ſollicitous about the breed as well as number of dependants; nor is there a doubt but in ſurveying his poſſeſſions, a nobleman of this kind has been full as earneſt in examining his breed of men, as any of his ſucceſſors in latter times have been in the breed of their horſes.—The great poſſeſſions of the church fed a number of idle dependants in the ſame manner; thus did they live on the produce around them, which gave no room for a traffic in proviſions; as for cloathing, home-ſpun linen, and ordinary coarſe cloth, were the chief; a ſmall ſubject for trade! What there was, lay in the hands of cities and corporations, a policy of the crown, to form bodies of men under their own ſeparate laws, independent of the nobility, as a

ballance : The trade of theſe corporations being from the circumſtance of the times very confined, the excluſive privilege was but of little conſequence, but has ſince greatly hindered their growth ; they appear like ſo many ſtinted Republicks in the Britiſh monarchy ; and the greatly increaſed numbers of later days, has been a real grievance, and greatly hindered the ſpirit of induſtry. However, the Court and attending nobility muſt have ſome magnificence ; as the Engliſh did not abound with artiſts in luxury, they were ſupplied from Flanders, and other places, which were chiefly paid for in wool and corn ; but the moſt important riches at that time were the mines of tin, lead, and copper ; this was a principal article of exportation ; how conſiderable, may be judged by the number of corporations in Cornwall. Our anceſtors being for the moſt part careful in dividing the power in proportion to the wealth and importance of the place as affairs then ſtood ; and 'tis a great unhappineſs that

ſome

ſome means have not been found out to reinſtate from time to time that balance, which is for ever changing.

At this period, 'tis clear from the nature of things, there could be few great merchants; nor was England a ſtore-houſe of riches, even for their own uſe.—The preſent mighty city of London, then with eaſe confined within its walls, was interſperſed with many religious houſes and large gardens.

CHAP. II.

The Conſtitution changes.

WHEN the wiſe King had procured thoſe laws which put a period to the great power and ſtate of theſe petty monarchs, and placed their tenants in a more independent condition, a great revolution, though perhaps then unforeſeen, by ſlow but ſure degrees took place; the nobility began to loſe the taſte for the country, where they were mortified by the decreaſe

of their power, it became a fashion to reside in London and attend the court, which led them into great expence, especially as the succeeding King delighted in magnificence. While the young Monarch was emptying his father's collected treasures, his courtiers were mortgaging and selling their estates, a privilege lately confirmed to them by parliament, which confirmed by a law the opinions of the judges about fines, in a consultation under Edward IV.

The King, finding his coffers low, turned his eyes on the possessions of the Church, which were exceedingly great; and the then become hungry nobility, who on the first thought had devoured them in their minds, forwarded it with the utmost diligence; a visitation was set on foot, abuses enough were found, and pious frauds detected, to colour the resolution such a King had taken of seizing their lands; and though the Church of England is still rich, what was then confiscated was prodigious. The rents of the confiscated Church Lands amounted

to

to near two hundred thouſand pounds; which, from the cuſtom of letting at a ſmall rent and a great fine, added to the great intereſt the Church had to appear poor, cannot be ſuppoſed to be a fifth of the then real value; add to that, the difference of the value of gold and ſilver between that period and this, which is at leaſt as eight to one, will make the preſent value of thoſe rents eight millions. — This ſerved a preſent exigency, the nobility were again enriched; and that terrible King found no diminution in his power, though the whole frame of kingly power was undermined; and the great change of religion, begun in this reign, for which the Engliſh had been long prepared by the Doctrines of Wickliff, gave a helping hand.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Diſcovery of America, and its conſequences.

ABOUT this period, the riches of America began to be brought to Europe. Spain, on the ſight of ſuch quantity of ſilver and gold, forgot itſelf; and having the ſhadow and ſign of riches, began to deſpiſe riches itſelf. The violence uſed againſt their moſt uſeful ſubjects in the Netherlands, from whoſe labours ſprung a fountain of true riches, cauſed the erecting the United Provinces into a Trading Republick; and a migration of about one hundred thouſand families into England, the fineſt ſoil they could be planted on, rich in materials, and growing in conſumption. Holland grew mightily, opening its arms to receive all; a great multitude of perſecuted rich, unfortunate merchants, and artiſts of all kinds, flew thither for protection. Flanders was ruin'd, it prey'd on and ſwallowed up greateſt

greateſt part of the trade of thoſe free German cities, called Hans Towns; in a word, became on a ſudden the center and warehouſe for Europe, and the riches of India; in arriving at this, the Banks, formed at Amſterdam and other cities, were moſt neceſſary inſtruments.

Holland has an advantageous ſituation, having ſo great a track of country behind it, who have no other opportunity of foreign commerce but through that ſtate; and its capital is well ſecured from enemies. The life of a trading Republick is in the head, cruſh that and all is loſt: But a warlike Republick has life all over, it may be cut like the late found Polypus, and like that will revive; it cannot be ruined by foreign force, but by annihilating the people.

Spain had revived the cuſtom of the latter Romans, in keeping on foot a ſtanding military, which far exceeded any troops drawn together in haſt; they had the military ſcience in greater perfection; but there was no end to fighting that ſucceſſion of armies,

Germany

Germany conſtantly furniſhed Holland with for hire, nor a poſſibility of vanquiſhing that ſpirit which the firſt taſte of liberty gives. The continuance of that war taught the ſcience to the vanquiſhed; and after an expence of more ſilver than ever Europe had ſeen before, unable to continue the war, though with the mines of Peru and Mexico, Spain felt the woeful miſtake ſhe had made, and, from the terror of Europe, became almoſt its pity.

CHAP. IV.

Effects of the diſcovery of America on England.

THE face of affairs was greatly chang'd in England, by this introduction of gold and ſilver; the nobility now become courtiers, felt another ruin beſides their own extravagance, the great decreaſe in the value of gold and ſilver.—The cuſtom of granting long leaſes with a reſerved rent, or renewable

newable at certain periods, was a moſt inconceivable advantage for the tenants.

From this flood of ſpecie, land every day, as well as every other article, was worth more and more. This advantage all falling into the hands of the tenant, he became by degrees to be the land-holder, and man of property; ſo that the addition of Church-lands ſcarce enabled the nobility to ſupport their dignity; and the introduction of thoſe manufacturers from Flanders, gave an entire new turn to affairs; the lands were divided among innumerable owners, and the far greater ſhare among the commons.

The additional expence of the city of London, which had long been filled with the rich from all parts of the kingdom, the increaſe of independent and wealthy men ſpread over the whole, the eſtabliſhing of manufactures in different parts, made a prodigious increaſe in the conſumption of all neceſſaries; a deſire of being accommodated took place, and liberty now beginning to raiſe its head, emulation and labour ſucceeded

ceeded a ſlothful dependency, a general life and vigour began to diffuſe itſelf through the whole; not only filling our own warehouſes with ſtocks of commodities for home conſumption, we began to turn our eyes abroad for foreign markets: An India Company was ſet on foot; a trade was open'd to Ruſſia; and Spain became a cuſtomer for our woollens.

Theſe were the effects of the wiſe adminiſtration of Queen Elizabeth; and now a new kind of property began to take place: Thoſe that were poſſeſſed of certain quantities of merchandize were equal in wealth to thoſe poſſeſſed of certain quantities of land, and diſtinguiſhed afterwards by the name of Trading Intereſt.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Change of Religion, and farther Effects of the Change in the Conſtitution.

THE wiſe Queen, who knew the alter'd condition of her country, framed her conduct accordingly; the reformed Religion had been eſtabliſhed, over-thrown, and re-eſtabliſhed; a religion ſhe and the majority of her ſubjects approved of, even in a political ſenſe, as better calculated for the increaſe of people, induſtry, and all uſeful arts and ſciences. But a caution was neceſſary, ſome of theſe reformers in their doctrine and church government too much favoured the republican ſyſtem, which did not ſuit the Engliſh monarchy; ſo a ſyſtem was adopted retaining more old forms, with Biſhops and a metropolitan, more conformable to the crown, who placed itſelf at the head of it, and which was conſidered as ſome ſupport to its decaying power; however, this was far from being agreeable to the

the whole body of diſſenters from the Roman church, among whom were the major part of thoſe manufacturers and merchants who had fled to England for protection; nor could they be brought to join cordially in the eſtabliſhed worſhip, notwithſtanding all the laws made for that purpoſe.

The Houſe of Commons was now become a very reſpectable body; but ſuch was the prudence of the Queen, ſo wiſe in her councils, ſo affectionate to her people, that ſhe had more authority with them than their own repreſentatives; and as the crown lands and perquiſites were reduced very low, ſhe eſtabliſhed a wonderful œconomy, by which ſhe eſcaped repeated applications for money, which would have ſubjected her to many things her haughty ſpirit could not endure; for already the freedom of debate, and paſſion for liberty began to appear. It was this frugality which furniſhed a reaſon for forming companies, whoſe ſhips being large might occaſionally ſerve for war; and with a navy, moſtly form'd of merchantmen,

men, from the happineſs of her own genius, and the ſkilful choice of her officers, did ſhe make a ſtriking figure in Europe; ſhe encouraged her ſubjects to form enterprizes againſt the enemy on their own account, whoſe petty attacks, from the great abilities and valour of the leaders, ſerved indeed to diſcover the weakneſs of Spain, but ended in the ruin of ſome of the beſt families and ſureſt props to the crown. Had the united force of the whole kingdom been employed, there is reaſon to believe, from the great genius of the time for war, the power of Spain might have been puſh'd to a precipitate deſtruction; however, a diſcovery of North America was made, and the firſt land named Virginia, from the Virgin Queen, tho' with very inconſiderable preſent advantage.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

King James succeeds to the Throne; Consequences on Trade and Politicks.

THE peaceable disposition of King James was very favourable to trade, and the merchants grew excessive rich; the city of London became of much greater extent and importance; but uneasinesses were created, in that he suffered the Dutch to drive out our East India Company from their choicest settlements, with circumstances of great cruelty, and monopolies granted by patent were a constant subject of complaint, as being of the very essence of despotism.

This Prince was well versed in the learned languages; had studied divinity and government; he knew perfectly well the antient rights of the crown, and looked upon himself as intitled to all the prerogatives of his predecessors. But the crown was no more in a condition to maintain them; even when

in

in its full vigor, the people were very impatient under any violent uſe of them.

The court had a taſte for ſhew and expence, which the ordinary revenues could not furniſh; this occaſioned frequent applications to parliament for ſupplies, who, as they had not yet learnt the art of giving, were very tenacious; and, fond of their growing power, diſputed with the crown on every occaſion; in vain did this learned Prince exhort and inſtruct them in elaborate ſpeeches; they could not be brought to give what was even neceſſary, to ſupport the dignity of the crown. The great œconomy of the late reign, joined to the increaſing difference in the Value of money, made the demands of the court appear more exorbitant than they really were.—This put the King upon thoſe means of raiſing money, which, though poſſibly within the antient prerogative, was a very unhappy exertion of it, that of monopolies in particular, than which nothing can be more deſtructive to commerce.

Thus

Thus the parſimony of the parliament in a manner forced the King to this exertion of his power, which he thought lawful; and this again gives freſh cauſes for remonſtrances from the parliament. A breach thus begun was kept alive by two powerful contending parties in religion.

The King, bred in Scotland, under the ſevere diſcipline of the preſbyterian religion, was ſo far from adopting that party in England, who flattered themſelves of it, that he had conceived an antipathy to it. On the contrary, the Church eſtabliſhed, created by, and intended for, a ſupport of regal power, had adopted doctrines convenient for the purpoſe, and were violent abettors to the royal prerogative. This ſo won the King, that he embraced them with intire affection, and aſſiſted them in the perſecution of their brother diſſenters from Rome, who, from a ſtricter manner of living, were called Puritans; thus a ſtrong league was formed between Monarchy and Epiſcopacy, at the expence of the dignity

of the crown, who played into each other's hands with the utmoſt zeal.

This cauſed many to retire to America, and began the ſettlement of New England; great numbers following for the ſame reaſon, ſoon laid the foundation of a conſiderable colony.

The Houſe of Commons, who had now ſet themſelves in oppoſition to the Crown, as guardians of the liberties of the people, were ſeconded by the whole force of the Puritans, and many of the eſtabliſhed Church, who were not ſo bigotted as to ſacrifice their liberty by a blind attachment to its miniſters.

Thus began that famous conteſt in the reign of James, which his unhappy ſon Charles, not knowing how to moderate; but ſuffering himſelf to be led by zealous churchmen, whoſe violent ſpirit brooking no oppoſition, the flame broke out; a new kind of war, the Commons againſt the King, Nobles, and Church; the city of London being in poſſeſſion of the Com-

 mons,

mons, gave the ballance in their favour. Unhappy and fatal was the conſequence; the King, the Nobles, the Church, the antient Conſtitution, deſtroyed, and a dreadful tyranny ſprung up in its ſtead under Cromwell; a conſequence that will never fail to happen when the people fall upon and deſtroy an eſtabliſhed government; and this event ought for ever to be had in memory. Let it moderate the headſtrong Prince; let the people remember ruin and loſs of liberty await on their victory as well as defeat.

King Charles was well diſpoſed to encourage trade, and made the firſt treaty of commerce with Portugal, which was afterwards renewed by the parliament, and an addition made to it in the reign of Queen Ann, but has ſince become obſolete through the ſupineneſs of Britain.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Parliament and Cromwell.

BUſineſs of all kinds, except the deſtructive one of war, muſt have ſuffered, ſo many being employed in deſtroying, inſtead of adding to the publick ſtock; yet the nation grew terrible to its neighbours, from the military genius it had acquired; but one famous law, made by the parliament, called the Act of Navigation, formerly planned by Henry the VIIth, which gave riſe to the Dutch war, laid the foundation of the Britiſh navy; it prohibited the importation of whatever commodity in foreign bottoms, except ſuch as were the produce of their own country, which at one ſtroke ruined the Dutch navigation with England, and mightily increaſed the Engliſh ſhipping. —In that war we read of a hundred ſail of ſhips on a ſide fighting for three days ſucceſſively. The

ſhips indeed were ſmall, and the ſkill in naval affairs in its infancy. Yet the manner of fighting, which was chiefly by boarding, was very terrible, and much more deſtructive of men than the preſent, which is reduced to cannonading.

When affairs were become deſperate with the Royaliſts, many went to the iſlands of Barbadoes, Nevis, St. Chriſtopher's, &c. which procured the nation the firſt commerce in the rich commodity of ſugar, which Oliver obſerving, after he had ſeiz'd upon the government and ruled deſpoticly under the title of Protector, he laid a ſcheme for getting poſſeſſion of the valuable iſland of Hiſpaniola, in which he miſcarried. But the fleet took the iſland of Jamaica, which has become our chief Weſt India ſettlement; and Virginia began to be of conſequence from the tobacco it produced.

Cromwell has been blamed for aſſiſting the French againſt the Spaniards, on whoſe ruin was built that power which has ſo long terrified

terrified Europe. But from Spain there was more to be got to sweeten his government with the people, who now obeyed from fear only; the party by whose means he had acquired his dignity, hating him more than any, not only disappointed of their idol a Republick, but forced by a power themselves had raised, to bear a yoke ten times severer than what they had fought against; yet the dignity with which he supported the honour of the nation abroad, was some alleviation; a gilding which has made many forget how near their liberties were lost for ever; and what has made him the more remembered, is, it has been since very impoliticly neglected on many occasions, from whence has ensued to the ruling power, more peril than could be caused by any foreign war.

The death of Oliver made way for our deliverance, and glad were we to embrace the first opportunity and means. The Royal Family was seated again on the throne, and that with such expedition, that things re-

mained as unſettled as before the civil war, and ſubject to the ſame evils.

BOOK the THIRD.

CHAP. I.

Charles II. *reſtored, and new troubles ariſe.*

CHARLES the Second, from a moſt forlorn condition, found himſelf on a ſudden replaced on the throne of his fathers; all parties claim a merit in it, and indeed all conſpired, or it could never have happened ſo peaceably as it did; the Church retook its antient form, and the baniſhed clergy again took poſſeſſion of their pulpits.

The King having taſted the gaiety of the court of France, with a genius adapted to pleaſure, in ſome meaſure ſuited the people, who were heartily ſick of the late formal faces, as one extravagancy has ever been the parent of its contrary.

This

This reſtoration was brought about with the ſanction of a parliament, who in the firſt ardour of love and reconciliation were willing to grant any thing; what was aſked was granted, which, though then thought great, yet proved not ſufficient to the purpoſe deſigned, in a great meaſure from the old cauſe, the continual decreaſe in the value of money, and which his majeſty was by no means diſpoſed to huſband with the moſt exact frugality. This put him into great difficulties; the parliament became leſs and leſs complaiſant, till a new method was thought of to ſoften that reſolute and powerful body; force had been found ineffectual, but the faſhion of the times, and the expenſive manner of living, introduced a neceſſity which opened the way for bribery, the mind was debauched, and the publick by degrees began to be conſidered no more than a common paſture to feed as many as it could bear: This laſted ſome time; but the prudent iniquitous, knowing their own importance continued no

longer than the need of them, were never over generous, tho' they ſhared the ſpoil: Another evil attended this; all could not, if they were willing, be brib'd; and ſome we may ſuppoſe to be honeſt men; theſe formed an oppoſite party of great conſequence, though a minority, as they were backed by the bulk of the people, the Engliſh being naturally fond of oppoſition; in this party liſted the riſing genius's, who ſoon became very troubleſome to the court; and new elections are ever to be dreaded. Thus this new method was as big with miſchief and ruin as the old one; it convulſed the whole ſtate, nor did it anſwer to change the adminiſtration, and make new courtiers of old patriots; it might ſtop the evil for a moment, till the party reunited, and began with redoubled fury: This gave the indolent King inexpreſſible uneaſineſs; he knew not which courſe to take; the doctrine of paſſive obedience preached from every pulpit had not a ſufficient effect; the church ſtuck cloſe and did all it could, having once more

more the satisfaction of seeing the other sects persecuted, not profiting by the lessons of moderation they themselves had preach'd in their last humiliation, nor has moderation been the virtue of either, when in power.

CHAP. II.

Observations on France, and its trade; and Spain.

LEWIS the XIVth of France was well pleased at the inactive condition of England, and the good disposition of Charles, who had assisted him against the Hollanders, a war on the side of England carried on with no great honour for so warlike a nation, and which the publick greatly disliked, beginning to fear the power of France;—Lewis help'd Charles in his necessities with money, and in his pleasures with a most accomplished mistress.

It may be necessary to say something concerning that power, whose efforts will for ever remain a great object in the history

of Europe. Lewis in his youth had happily put an end to a violent civil war, brought his nobles into ſubjection, and united under him all the great captains who had ſerved on either party; the ſcience and maſterſhip in war was now tranſlated from Spain to France, and the young King ſoon found employment for them; he formed great armies, and ſet himſelf about the means to ſuſtain them, with which France has all the natural materials.

To have riches and ſtocks of all things beforehand, it is neceſſary there ſhould be a conſtant circulation or exchange from one hand to another, which the more extenſive it is, the more will the merchants be multiplied; and although every thing originally ariſes from the labour of the poor, and the poorer ſort are from their numbers the great conſumers, yet the merchants who communicate theſe neceſſaries thro' the ſtate, interchanging from every different quarter, by their profits and hoarding, form the riches of a country. The gentleman ſeldom does,

and

and the labourer cannot, ſave; and where a country, as France, is of great extent and well peopled, the conſumption and interchange among themſelves muſt be infinitely more than any foreign trade whatever, and productive of greater wealth, and abundance of all uſeful things. France is a kingdom form'd of many provinces, formerly governed by many independent princes; as they were united, the antient laws and cuſtoms ſtill continued: Each province might negociate within itſelf, but entering another, merchandize was ſubject to many impoſts and charges, which made it rather more difficult than a foreign trade; by this means circulation was ſtop'd. The great miniſter of Lewis remedied in part this evil; merchandize and manufactures were permitted free circulation thro' the whole kingdom, and all their home conqueſts have the ſame privilege, which ſtrongly unites them; yet in the article of proviſions there are ſtill difficulties; nor has corn a free permiſſion of exportation from one pro-

vince to the another, which will for ever prevent there being great ſtocks beforehand, and ſubject them occaſionally to diſtreſs.

Spain remains ſtill in the antient ſituation, its kingdoms are ſo diſtinct, and ſeparated by the old laws, that one ſhall be oppreſſed with famine, while its neighbour abounds, without a remedy, except an immediate order from court; and the manufactures eſtabliſhed in different quarters, paſſing through the different kingdoms, pay in each a duty, which amounts to ſo much, that the circulation is almoſt entirely ſtopp'd, which is the great cauſe of their extreme poverty.

But to return to France; this alteration had a ſurpriſing effect among an induſtrious active people. They ſoon were filled with manufactures in every corner; foreign markets were ſought, ſpecie brought in, colonies eſtabliſhed, fiſhery ſet on foot, an India Company formed; thus in a few years that enterprizing King was furniſhed wirh reſources

fources that amazed all Europe, and ſtruck almoſt an univerſal pannick.

CHAP. III.

Condition of trade and politicks of England.

ENGLAND in the mean time was far from making advances equal to its neighbours; our northern colonies went ſlowly on; New England increaſed greatly in people; but the country, though it abounds with neceſſaries, affords but little for exportation. The importation of tobacco from Virginia was indeed an important article; and the exchange of Surinam for New York with the Dutch, ſtopt a very diſagreeable gap in our ſettlements, and is the beſt ſituated port in North America; and the fiſhery became more conſiderable. In the Weſt Indies the ſugar trade became very great; and beſides the riches of that commodity, a ſmuggling trade was

was opened from Jamaica with the Spaniards, which having been ſometimes carried on piratically cauſed much animoſity. A Company was formed for the African Trade, and the Duke of York was made governor; likewiſe a Turkey company, which greatly enriched ſome particulars; but has ſince ſunk almoſt to nothing; as did the African. King Charles gave the firſt grant to Mr. Penn of Penſilvania, confirmed afterwards by King James; and a grant of Carolina was made to Lord Shaftſbury and others.—But our manufactures went on ſlowly; for France ſupplied us, beſides wines and brandy, with ſilks, ſtuffs, ſtockings, hats, &c. nor had we then thoſe fabricks, nor the manufacture of ſuperfine cloth, which was firſt begun in Wiltſhire, with Dutch manufacturers; but we had a very advantageous trade with Spain and Portugal for our coarſe woollens, which brought in a ſupply of gold and ſilver.

Parliaments having been more regularly held, and the members, many of them reliſhing

reliſhing the employment, and attending the court, contributed to the agrandizing the city of Weſtminſter, and the general flow of people in conſequence to the capital, made the great loſs by the peſtilence and fire ſuddenly heal and felt no more, the city riſing out of its aſhes with additional ſplendour and magnificence, while the political body was full of diſturbance. The Duke of York, publicly a zealous Roman Catholick, filled the minds of the people with dreadful apprehenſions; a party, and a ſtrong one, work'd violently to procure a bill of excluſion, an attempt of the boldeſt nature; it is ſtill doubtful, had the King lived, whether they would not have ſucceeded.—At this criſis, the King ſuddenly dies, and the Duke ſucceeds; a prince unhappy from, what in a private life he would have been eſteemed for, his ſteadineſs and ſincerity in the religion he profeſſed; he was unhappily guided by the counſels of violent churchmen, many of whom are fond of meddling with civil

affairs,

affairs, though nothing can be more contrary to the ſpirituality of their profeſſion, as guides to the kingdom of Heaven.—The Church of England, that powerful body of eccleſiaſticks, the old friends and creatures of the court, who had been preaching and labouring in his favour, found themſelves in danger of going to wreck indiſcriminately with the other proteſtants, whom, to their mortification, the King was courting with the bait of Toleration. This cauſed ſuch a union againſt him, that on a ſudden he found himſelf deſerted, and obliged in his old age, again to ſeek an aſylum in a foreign country, bereaft of his crown and dignity. The Roman Catholicks in Ireland made ſome ſtand in his favour, which finiſhed their ruin; and in Scotland ſomething was attempted, which was cruſhed, and the unhappy people treated with a ſeverity of which they ſtill complain.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Review of the affairs of Scotland.

SCOTLAND, when it was firſt connected with England, under James I. ſtill retained the antient Gothic conſtitution in full force; and many were the broils in the former part of that King's reign in Scotland, formed by the contentions of a powerful nobility, whoſe wealth conſiſted in large landed poſſeſſions, well ſtocked with hardy and faithful vaſſals: Theſe held a divided authority with the crown; nor has any kingdom ſuffered more violence, nor Kings worſe treated, than in Scotland; yet monarchy itſelf was never thought of being aboliſhed; though the King in perſon might feel the effects of their fury; differing from the civil war in England, which was againſt the power of the crown, rather than animoſity againſt the perſon of the King. The nobles following the King into his new dominions,

dominions, the conſequences of attending the court produced the ſame effect as it had done on their neighbours; they became by degrees diſtreſſed, and their tenants more wealthy and independent; however, they had ſufficient power to open the ſcene with Charles the firſt, who greatly diſobliged the Scots by attempting to eſtabliſh epiſcopacy. But when they found the Engliſh themſelves aboliſhing monarchy, they made a ſtrong effort to ſupport it under the next heir; but they ſoon found themſelves not in a condition to ſupport an independence on England, who ſoon reduced that power ſo low as no more to be dreadful.

Thus we ſee manufactures, trade, and huſbandry, which took their riſe in England from the decay of the nobility, muſt have had a much later birth in Scotland, where it could advance but ſlowly, as no court was kept, and little expence made in that kingdom, but in England, who conſidered its manufactures as foreign; thus all that a court could give to the attending

gentry,

gentry, was but a poor recompence to the unhappy country. At length an union was made, and the two nations became one, a free reciprocal trade was open'd, from whence may be dated the firſt riſe of Commerce in Scotland, who in time may bid fair to rival its neighbour, as manufactures ſeem inclined to travel northward, invited by the cheapneſs of labour.

Scotland has likewiſe this advantage, the taxes are very eaſy; for the gentlemen who conducted the treaty were ſo very parſimonious, that they gave up a part of that ſhare ſo antient and brave a people ought to have had in the legiſlature, to the conſideration of a little ſaving.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Review of Ireland.

IT may now be neceſſary to conſider Ireland, which was at firſt eaſily reduced under the dominion of England, by the diſſenſions among nobles or princes who were without a head, as that conſtitution requires, and who were greatly deficient in the ſcience of arms, having had no foreign wars, in which the Engliſh were conſtantly exerciſed. The number of theſe great nobles being ſmall, the deſtroying them, and putting others in their places, who governed in the ſame manner of their predeceſſors, made ſo ſmall an alteration among the people, that they ſubmitted to the change with very little oppoſition, and the title of Duke of Ireland was added to the crown of England. Many of theſe new poſſeſſors were Engliſh nobility, who had likewiſe in their own country great poſ-

ſeſſions,

ſeſſions, where they chiefly reſided. The others who remained on the ſpot, by degrees became intirely Iriſh, and by changing their names, ſoon forgot their original country, their whole affections being engroſſed by their new native ſoil and ſociety; however, the connexion with England ſerved them to keep up the ſpirit and ſcience of arms, and in the ſequent diſturbances in that dukedom, afterwards called a kingdom, to add a feather to the crown, moſt dearly bought; as it gave them a greater idea of their importance, you find them behaving with more and more reſolution; every freſh contention being more bloody than the laſt; ſo that taking a general calculation, England has waſted more blood for that conqueſt, than ever nation did for one of the ſame extent; it has been a dear colony to the Engliſh, for ſuch it muſt be conſidered. The firſt planted finding themſelves barr'd of many advantages, and conſidered in an inferior light to their brothers in their

mother

mother country, as ſoon as they found themſelves ſecure in their poſſeſſions, began to be diſguſted, which ſoon turned into hate and oppoſition; wars broke out; in the end theſe were overcome; new maſters were given, who were faithful as long as their fears laſted, when the ſame happened again; ſo that from ſome defect in policy, we have had a continued ſucceſſion of our own brothers to fight with and ruin.

While England was progreſſing in that change of its conſtitution, Ireland as a dependent country was affected with it, tho' not ſo violently or ſuddenly as in England; the abbies were indeed deſtroyed; but the revenues of the clergy, with their biſhops, were undiſturbed, and remain very rich; and the nobles having little encouragement at court, remained for the moſt part at home, and eſcaped the deſtruction that attended their more favoured brethren; in this condition was Ireland when the Reformation was eſtabliſhing itſelf in England, which they were obliged to follow; and from this

ſource

ſource ſlowed a chain of conſequences, which has made Ireland quite another thing.

The Iriſh were not prepared for the Reformation by any prior reformer, and as it did not take its riſe upon the ſpot, but was forced upon them with very little ceremony, there is no wonder at their great diſlike and antipathy; beſides, the clergy, moſt of whom in England ſwam with the current either way with great addreſs, had not been there ſo well diſciplined, nor had they the ſame opportunity; no doubt but the diſcarded miniſters were doubly diligent under their diſgrace; nor were the people leſs diſpoſed to hearken to them; for we Britons know by experience, that the forcing of a religion upon a people, gives a univerſal diſguſt, and is big with troubles and war; almoſt the intire people ſtuck to their old paſtors, except a few proteſtant courtiers. Ireland was now in a new ſituation, it was no more Iriſh or Engliſh party, the laſt being moſtly Romans, joined the former, and made one body; it was now

now Romans or Proteſtants, and the laſt were in numbers very few; ſo that to eſtabliſh the Reformation and make them ſubmit to the Engliſh laws, the country was to be entirely conquered over again.

Queen Elizabeth, notwithſtanding the greatneſs of her own genius, and the great abilities of her Miniſters and Generals, met with various ſucceſs and troubles without ceaſing in that kingdom; there was no want of valour on both ſides; but the Engliſh could never penetrate through the woods and bogs that the country was then covered with. Diſſenſions were ſowed among the Iriſh, and the weaker enabled to deſtroy the ſtronger, when they had him to deſtroy in turn, till, wearied out, truces were made from time to time, and a kind of compoſition eſtabliſhed.

It may be wondered that ſo wiſe a government as Queen Elizabeth's ſhould not have hit upon ſome means to avoid ſo much diſquietude and bloodſhed; perhaps the Iriſh were not conſidered in that reſpectable

light

light they deſerved, but merely as a dependent colony, in which it was eaſy to cruſh any commotion; but the panick the proteſtants were in at that time, their fears, from which the greateſt were not exempt, ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed them, that they could not think themſelves ſafe while the Roman Church had any footing; and in theſe fears were they confirmed, by the intrigues of the Jeſuits, a new body of eccleſiaſtical Knight Errants, who formed and executed enterprizes much beyond the common ideas of mankind. When theſe circumſtances are conſidered, we have nothing to blame but the peculiar unhappineſs of the times.

King James the Firſt, whoſe parents were Romans, was far from being a violent enemy to that religion, or its profeſſors, and from thence might ſpring that inclining of the Church of England to ſimilar ceremonies and judicial power, in which they were encouraged; nor were the Iriſh or Engliſh Romans by any means enemies of James or his Succeſſor, whoſe journey to

Spain, and French Queen, had ſoftened any prejudices he might have had againſt that Church, which was acknowledged a true Church by Engliſh prelates. But this did not prevent laws being made which the King found it convenient to aſſent to, which were very oppreſſive to the Romans, and almoſt all the employments in Ireland were in the hands of proteſtants, who were now almoſt an entire new people lately gone over; how grating this muſt be to the antient eſtabliſhed, is eaſy to conceive; men are men all over the globe, and in the ſame circumſtances are much the ſame; beſides, the principal people were our own brothers and relations.

When the civil war began to break out, the Iriſh were ready to aſſiſt the King; but one unhappy and furious ſtep they began with, of murthering their new gueſts, and their families; afterwards excuſing themſelves by an authority under the great ſeal of Scotland, forwarded the ruin of the King, and brought on their own deſtruction,

ſo great was the horror and antipathy it created.

When the affairs of England began to ſettle on the death of the King, an army was ſent over to Ireland full of revenge, and blood was ſatisfied with blood; moſt of the great were deſpoiled of their poſſeſſions, which were not as formerly given whole to one of equal rank, but from a Republican principle were divided among many poſſeſſors, which took from the heirs the moſt diſtant hopes of ever recovering their eſtates.

Thus once more a new colony of Engliſh was planted on the ſolid foundation of a diviſion of lands. This was the beginning of orderly government in Ireland, where, for a long ſeries, a few powerful nobles had ruled, in deſpight of all law but their own will; from hence may be dated the beginning of arts and huſbandry. Before this, many of the Iriſh might juſtly be termed wild, and were but little more poliſhed than the native Americans.

Theſe new poſſeſſors cultivating their lands, gave a new face to part of the conntry, which others obſerving, fell to the ſame work; but manufactures were ſlow in advance from the jealouſy of England.

Charles the IId, notwithſtanding his being ſecretly a Roman, was obliged to aſſent to many ſevere laws againſt them in Ireland, where the Proteſtants lived in teror, but were every day increaſing in number and landed poſſeſſions, as no Roman could purchaſe or even inherit, if the next heir was a Proteſtant.

King James, after leaving England, attempted, with the aſſiſtance of ſome French troops, to make head in Ireland, where he was defeated, and moſt of his party quitting the kingdom, and forfeiting their lands, farther diviſions were made, and at preſent almoſt all the lands are in the hands of Proteſtants; which, by this method of diviſion, are very numerous and powerful, moſt of them deſcended from men jealous to the

the laſt degree of their liberties; and the Romans, after the two emigrations cauſed by Cromwell and King William, ſunk ſo low, and are ſo ſtrictly guarded, that they never have a chance to hold up their heads more.

BOOK the FOURTH.

CHAP. I.

King William's conduct in Holland, and Views upon his advancement to the throne of England.

WILLIAM Prince of Orange was placed at the head of affairs in the United Provinces, by the common people, who, in an insurrection, forced the States to make him Stadtholder. Affairs were at that time in a dismal situation; Lewis the XIVth, by a sudden irruption, had carried the greater part of their country, and was threatening their capital: — Mutual and imminent danger created union, all the factions listed under the young Prince, who, at the age of a school boy, took upon him the command of armies. A considerable number of French officers had quitted the service

ſervice of their country on account of religion; theſe the Prince entertained; from them he got his firſt rudiments of war, and Germany pour'd forth her neceſſitous ſons to furniſh him armies; — his courage was invincible; when he loſt a battle, he ſold the victory ſo dear, and ſo ſoon found freſh ſuccours, that he roſe after every check more terrible than before, making the laſt battle ſtill more obſtinate and bloody than the former, and obliged Lewis, notwithſtanding the great experience and genius of his Generals, the beſt diſciplined and veteran troops in the world, to retire out of the United Provinces. The Prince purſued the war with a kind of fury and perſonal hatred, having catch'd in a degree that kind of panic abhorrence againſt the French, which poſſeſſed the people who ſet him up; and from this paſſion many things are to be accounted for.

When the Prince of Orange was invited over by the Engliſh, there is great reaſon to believe, that the view of bringing over

England to the grand alliance, was a very conſiderable motive with him, and with the States could be the only one.

This was his firſt object when he mounted the throne; but he found the Engliſh neither in humour nor condition to do ſo great things as he expected; they were not as yet a rich trading nation, that work was left for King William, who, having been nurſed and educated in a trading Republick, introduced into England as many of their maxims and policies as the conſtitution could bear: His firſt grand object was the eſtabliſhing a Royal Bank.

There is ſuch a confidence in the government neceſſary to the eſtabliſhing a Bank, that it ſeemed to be the ſole privilege of a Republick; Venice, Genoa, Hamburg, and Holland, had eſtabliſhed them; but England was the firſt regal government that ever did, and perhaps will be the laſt that ever can; nor could it have been done there, had not the government been eſtabliſhed on a ſolid footing, and the liberties

liberties of the people, with the privileges of parliament, as perfectly secured, as human wisdom permitted. King William was not anxious about the prerogatives of the Crown; he wanted to put the nation in a condition to strengthen the alliance against France, that he might be fully revenged of that nation; and those who accuse him of ambition, must allow it was an ambition to reign over a free people, whom he most diligently sought to enrich; and from this period, England may considered as a commercial nation.

CHAP. II.

Banks of Holland.

IT may be neceſſary to give ſome idea of the Banks of Holland, from whence may be eaſily ſeen the prodigious advantages that people drew from ſuch an eſtabliſhment. The Bank of Amſterdam, and that of Rotterdam, are governed by the magiſtrates, who are a branch of the States, in whom the legiſlative and executive powers are lodged; for was ſo great a concern in the hands of a ſeparate corporation, their power would be inconſiſtent with the government; nor could the government have made that uſe of it for the common good.

As ſoon as the Republick was fix'd, and had many rich merchants, a place of common ſecurity for the moſt valuable and portable effects was neceſſary; a houſe was built at the public expence, and officers appointed

appointed to receive them; if cash, an account was opened in the books, and the owner credited; if gold or silver, the Bank was a buyer, and would credit the owner for the amount; and to encourage them to deposit, a law was made that every foreign bill should be paid at the Bank in such deposited cash, if the owners chose it, which was done by a transfer. This created a necessity for every merchant to be possessed of a capital in the Bank, called by distinction Bank Money. As the trade and circulation increased, this increased; but how great the sum is, is a secret of the State.

The service of this Bank to the government when it was oppressed with wars, is very obvious. Here was a capital upon all emergencies, and could be made use of without discovery or danger, if they had funds to replace the money in any reasonable time. Likewise, whatever the government wanted the Bank to advance for public use, the major part must be expended

among their own people, as the country was a warehouſe for all ſorts of ſtores for war or peace; theſe being paid for in Bank, was creating ſo much capital, which, tho' ideal, from a happy confidence in the people, anſwered all the uſes of ſo much real ſpecie. But one thing was abſolutely neceſſary, a certain ſtock of real current caſh to anſwer any kind of ballance in trade, which might be againſt them, ariſing from their own conſumptions, for loans lent by private people, or privately by the Bank to foreign nations.—As this capital in the Bank may not be drawn out but by mutual conſent of all the proprietors, when a particular has Bank, and wants caſh, he ſells his Bank, which is a great branch of buſineſs, and employs many Brokers; and the difference in value, which is or ought to be conſtantly in favour of the Bank, is called the Agio, and the reaſon for this difference is, the Bank Money is received at a greater degree of fineneſs then the current caſh; by the price of this Agio, may be known how

how the ballance of trade in point of caſh ſtands in Holland.

There is likewiſe another Bank, called the Bank of Lending, governed by an incorporated company, who have a correſpondence with the State Bank; theſe have ſeveral offices diſperſed about the city, where they lend money on pledges, at *5 per Cent.* They are in fact a ſociety of Pawn-brokers, where a neceſſitous perſon may procure a loan upon his coat, or a pair of ſleeve buttons, being calculated for the ſervice of the poor as well as the rich, who may occaſionally want it; for they will lend any ſum to two thirds of the value on any unperiſhable commodity, by which means a merchant was enabled to wait the advantage of a market, or to advance his correſpondence two thirds on what he ſhall receive upon commiſſion, without detriment to himſelf; and this is a great encouragement to the ſending valuable commodities to Holland, to wait the markets of Europe, having conſtant opportunities of ſending them from thence,

thence, where they ſhall be moſt demanded; but as the merchants grew rich, this method of procuring advance upon merchandize has been in diſgrace, which is now generally done one among another.

CHAP. III.

Bank of England.

IN England it was impoſſible to eſtabliſh a Bank upon the ſame plan as in Holland, or any other Republick; no branch of the legiſlature being proper to entruſt it with; nor was it convenient to entruſt it with the magiſtrates of London, who would thereby have become, in a manner, the directors of the kingdom. Therefore a charter was given to a company, who ſubſcribed a ſufficient capital, which was formed into a transferrable ſtock, with power to chooſe their directors.

To ſtrengthen them the Crown orders the revenues to be paid into the Bank, who have

have always a caſhier, attending the Exchequer, who makes out bills for the government payments, which is the principle channel of circulation, by which means a prodigious ſum of this paper currency is kept conſtantly in motion; for as their credit has increaſed, ſo has the circulation of their notes, which is now become the chief medium of exchange or payments in the place of money. Thus though the Bank is not immediately in the hands of the government, it is ſo much in its power, that it cannot refuſe exerting the utmoſt extent of its credit, when the neceſſity of the ſtate requires it:—The private Banks that are eſtabliſhed in ſo many parts of the city, are of great ſervice to the Royal Bank, in circulating their notes, and in return receive a mutual aſſiſtance. At theſe private Banks, moſt merchants and traders depoſite their caſh, which circulates with great activity, in order to raiſe a credit with the Banker, that when they may want, they can confidently go with ſuch bills and notes as they

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are poſſeſſed of, to be diſcounted, which it is always in the Banker's power to do, as the wants of their cuſtomers are never general; and if the Banker ſhould be obliged to advance rather too much, he can carry thoſe bills to the Bank, who never fail to aſſiſt; for the Banker takes notes, which are more convenient than caſh; thus a reciprocal benefit is formed.

Before the Bank was eſtabliſhed, when the government wanted an advance of money, it uſed to apply to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, who, with the Common Council, were the beſt able to lend or find lenders, which made the magiſtracy of great importance.

The India Company was likewiſe of great uſe, whoſe credit was frequently better than the Crown's; but ſince the government has been properly eſtabliſhed, its credit infinitely exceeds what has ever been known, and needs no more thoſe helps.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Eſtabliſhment of the Funds, and diviſion of Parties.

THE King, whoſe view was the deſtruction of France, ſtrove to bring the nation into his ſentiments, and in general ſucceeded; but this drew on ſo great an expence, that fearing the levying of great taxes, on the eſtabliſhing a new government, might have ill conſequences, and create diſlike among the people, a ſcheme, which had been uſed in Holland, was put in practice in England, of borrowing upon the funds, which made the levies eaſy for the preſent, but in a manner rivetted them for ever; for when once that ſcheme was adopted, it was thought ſufficient to raiſe enough to pay the intereſt, with a ſmall ſurplus, of what ſum they wanted, truſting to future more fortunate and peaceful times for the payment of the principle.

Thus

Thus began the national debt; it may be neceſſary to obſerve at that time, the riches of London, and of the kingdom in general, were far from being great, if we may judge by the great premiums and high intereſt given, with the difficulty of filling ſubſcriptions.

This ſcheme however was greatly diſliked by many of the landed gentlemen, who looked upon their eſtates in a manner mortgaged, and dreaded the conſequence; beſides the different parties, who had united to ſet James aſide, as ſoon as it was done, began to work for their ſeparate intereſts. It was in vain the King endeavoured to eſtabliſh a union, by promoting indifferently of all; there was at bottom ſuch a rancour, and ſo long eſtabliſhed, that the more he ſtrove to bring it about, the more confuſion it created in his council and parliament.

Another reaſon might be, Britain is ſo great a country, ſo filled with men of abilities who have opportunities of ſignalizing themſelves,

themſelves, that there will ever be more fit for employments, then employments for them; which will be an everlaſting cauſe of faction and parties, interwoven in the conſtitution, and unavoidable, for ever perplexing, for ever exerciſing the abilities of our monarchs. King William was a ſtranger, nor could he be ſufficiently acquainted with the views of either, nor be a ſufficient maſter of the abilities and intereſts of their different leaders; this made him, at laſt, make choice of one party, entirely diſcarding the other; the party he choſe was diſtinguiſhed by the name of Whig, which had been long labouring at the reduction of regal power, to the great diſappointment of the Tories, who looked upon themſelves as more intitled to Royal Favour from their principles; which had ever been for preſerving the Royal Prerogatives, and the dignity and power of the Church; a party very conſiderable for its landed poſſeſſions. Theſe were ſeconded very heartily by the Clergy, who had been greatly diſappointed

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in the Hopes they conceived of their great importance, and conſequence with the new King; but William had been bred up in a government where the Clergy were abſolutely dependent, nor ſeemed he deſirous of farther power than to deſtroy the common enemy of Europe, which France was become; he neglected them entirely, to their unſpeakable mortification; and ſo far was the power of the eccleſiaſtical courts reduced, that they are become almoſt a ſhadow.—Theſe diſappointed parties put inſurmountable obſtacles in William's way, oppoſing all his meaſures, deſtroyed his ſchemes; nor could he in any wiſe execute thoſe great ideas and plans he had formed; he only planted the lawrels which another reaped, laying the foundation of that alliance, and forming that army which proved ſo victorious in the ſucceeding reign. The choice King William made of his party, wrought a moſt wonderful effect; the Whigs, many of them with Republican principles, became courtiers; and the Tories, who

who at heart hated and deſpiſed a Republican government, and had been ſticklers for the prerogative, oppoſed the Court upon the principles of the Whigs; ſetting up for Patriots, none were louder for Liberty, which they undertook to be guardians of.

The Whig party being the profeſſed friends of trade, of which the Tories, who were moſtly country gentlemen, were generally ignorant, a new diſtinction was introduced, which laſted for a time, of monied and landed intereſt.

CHAP. V.

Introduction of new manufactures from France, and ſcheme of a General Naturalization.

A Favourable circumſtance happenened in this reign for the commerce of Englind; Lewis the XIVth having revoked the edict of Nants, by which the Proteſtants were protected, a ſevere perſecution enſued;

enſued; moſt of them, being manufacturers and merchants, took refuge in the neighbouring countries; England in particular opened its arms for their reception; great numbers came over, who eſtabliſhed the manufactures of ſilks, ſtuffs, &c. in Spittal-Fields, which added a large quarter to the ſuburbs of the city; others ſettled in Canterbury and Norwich, which, with fabricks of other kinds in different places, as hats, ſtockings, &c. made a prodigious addition to the trade and manufactures of England, and was to France ſuch an error in politicks, that it will probably never recover.

The Whigs began to entertain a maxim of the Hollanders, of naturalizing all ſtrangers who deſired it, at a ſmall expence, which they never accompliſhed, from the oppoſition of the Tories, a party who perhaps had never conſidered how much England has been obliged to foreigners.—The Romans, who were the proudeſt people on earth, owed their greatneſs to the admiſſion of their conquered neighbours as citizens,

conferring

conferring that dignity with a moſt liberal hand on all ſides, ſo that it was wiſely ſaid, the Romans rather embraced the world than conquered it.

CHAP. VI.

Increaſe of the City of London from the Funds and Bank.

THE latter great increaſe of the City of London, has been a conſequence of the funds, and eſtabliſhment of the Bank.

The Stock-holders, much the greater part of them, living in and about the city, form a very conſiderable body, who can afford a great expence; and the tranſacting that buſineſs employs many people. The Bank from its credit being an almoſt inexhauſtible Fund, is a conſtant ſupply for thoſe of the firſt conſequence, and the Bankers of the ſecond; often a great merchant will uſe both; by this means money can be advanced,

ced for almoſt any quantity of merchandize. The manufacturer is ſurer of money for his goods in London, than in any other place, or may be advanced upon them, which enables him to proceed, who would otherwiſe be liable to frequent embarraſments, and poſſibly ruin, for the labourer muſt be paid. This has given the City a moſt wonderful advantage; and made it the center of trade;—moſt of the fabricks are brought to London in quantities, from whence they are again diſperſed in proper proportions to every corner of the kingdom, or abroad, as there is a call. —Thus, by a ſuppoſititious wealth, a real wealth is attained, by keeping the people employed, from whoſe labour alone riches are produced.—The landed man calls his eſtate real, but he might have ten times as much and better, in uninhabited America, and ſtarve; its reality owes its worth to labour and mutual aid.—How great a proportion the paper currency may have to ſpecie cannot be aſcertained. It is according to a nation's credit, and the intereſt

tereſt all ranks have in ſupporting it, however it may be deſtroyed, by neglecting what is called the ballance of trade, or by carrying on an expenſive foreign war by an exceſſive exportation of gold and ſilver.—By this means of Banks, the Spaniards and Portugueſe have loſt half the value of their mines; for, with one million of ſpecie, two may be circulated in paper, which will anſwer all its ends as a medium of exchange; and this muſt have had an effect on the value of gold and ſilver.

CHAP. VII.

Other Reaſons for the Increaſe of London, and Cities in general.

THERE is another reaſon for the increaſe of cities and towns. By the law of population of Henry the ſeventh, every farm houſe with 20 acres belonging to it, was to be kept up, and conſequently was inhabited; beſides, the landed gentle-

men delighting in the number of their dependents, who being the more ſo by their poverty, had multitudes of ſmall tenants, who barely ſubſiſted, which kept the country full of people fit for war, but who were of no effect in reſpect of adding to its wealth, as they were unſkilled in arts and manufactures. When the gentlemen got a taſte of expence and luxury, theſe people were a burthen they threw off without mercy, contriving to let their eſtates in large parcels to wealthy farmers, who would pay them more readily, ſo that now an eſtate may be let to half a ſcore ſubſtantial men, who work it with as few hands as poſſible, which uſed to feed on the ſpot a numerous people. As theſe farmers have a conſiderable capital, they certainly make more of the land, produce more corn and cattle than thoſe petty tenants could; and the barns of theſe people are the magazines of food for the nation and exportation, and ſo far are of excellent utility; but when we conſider the conſequences of the great ſuppoſed

poſed advantages of exporting corn and proviſions, we may find ourſelves far from being thoſe great gainers we have ſuppoſed: It is true, it creates a ballance in our favour, which had we not, we ſhould be obliged to manage our affairs with more frugality. By exporting proviſions, we may hire more foreign troops; but by contriving to fill our own country with people ſufficient for the whole or a greater conſumption, we ſhould have no occaſion for them.—Gentlemen ſhould conſider, the price of one bottle of claret at a tavern would furniſh for one day corn for a multitude of their antient dependents; what honour or power is gained by this depopulation and expence? The honour of being called Honour with infinite grimace, bows and fawning of Vintners and tradeſmen who plunder them; —for power; inſtead of faithful numerous vaſſals, a ſet of thieviſh ſervants, who with great diligence are eating them up. Their tenants are perfectly independent; with

these they have no power, often no authority or influence.

Having gone a little out of our way, let us return.—These poor people, driven from the country, took refuge in the cities and manufacturing towns, which the government have very wisely contrived all possible means to encourage; and the very extravagance, which drove them from home, helps to maintain them; and that in a more independent manner.

The same system has been more unfortunately pursued in Ireland, where the people had not such a refuge as manufactures to fly to, nor the advantage of even supplying their old landlords, who spent great part of their revenues in England; besides another great misfortune, Ireland being a country naturally adapted to grazing, beef and butter, the chief articles of exportation allowed them; and the profitable trade of smuggling wool to France, a great temptation; the lands have been turned

moſtly to that uſe, which employs a very few people; ſo that the country, in reſpect to inhabitants, is in many places almoſt a deſert, except in the north, where the linen manufacture has been happily eſtabliſhed; nor has the great increaſe of their cities been by any means equivalent to the depopulation of the country.—We may add another reaſon prevalent every where for turning lands into grazing; the tythes of the Church, which in corn farms amount to an immenſe ſum, for the tenth of the produce, includes the tenth of the rent; the tenth of the labour, the tenth of the intereſt of the ſtock, and the tenth of the profit, if any, or ſo much added to the loſs. The native poor Iriſh ſeem to be of the true Scythian race. They are enemies to labour, as all uncivilized people are, but then a very little contents them, giving an exemplary proof of the ſmallneſs of our natural wants, for they are withal a robuſt fine people, extremely fit for war, and capable of any thing; but our having ſuffered ſo much from them,

has given a diſlike, which it is now time to forget, and to inſtruct and preſerve ſo fine a breed.

In Scotland the ſame thing has happened, the ſmall farmers have been turned out, and the land turned into breeding parks for cattle; no Duke is now able to arm his thouſands; but as manufactures have been taking root, the poor have that refuge; and this laſt ſtroke of depriving the Lords of their juriſdictions, which indeed gave them too great a power for the public peace, and was wiſely aboliſhed for that reaſon, will yet leſſen the number of people; for when the Lord had a kind of property in and dominion over them, he nurſed them with care, for in their number conſiſted his conſequence, which is now altered by their independence; however, the government ſeem to have hit on a means to encourage them ſtill to preſerve their population, by giving commiſſions to thoſe who can raiſe men for the ſervice; and certainly thoſe who can furniſh men deſerve to command them; and

troops

troops thus formed of neighbours and friends, have the appearance to be more depended on and leſs ſubject to deſertion, then ſtragglers and idle people pick'd up indiſcriminately.

CHAP VIII.

Penſilvania and Carolina eſtabliſhed.

DURING this period, our colonies in America began to take freſh root. Mr. Pen began his ſettlement of Penſilvania, ſeconded by the ſociety of Quakers, among whom he was a leading man, and of whom the firſt ſettlers conſiſted. He began it under many diſadvantages; having been in the friendſhip of King James, he was obnoxious to his ſucceſſor, which ſubjected him to many misfortunes; nor were his circumſtances by any means equal to his vaſt ideas: often has he been obliged to abſcond, and hide himſelf from the meaneſt officers of the law in his own country, while he was

framing that ſyſtem which has rank'd him among the moſt famous lawgivers.

The juſtice and integrity with which he conducted his engagements with the Indians, wrought ſo much on them, that they were ready to believe him a being of a ſuperior kind; nor could they for a long time credit the news of his death, not believing him ſubject to the accidents of nature;—and ſo ſtrong was this affection rooted in them, that the colony has not, ſince its foundation, ſuffered the leaſt hoſtility, till this laſt terrible American war.

The government the Quakers had eſtabliſhed as a people among themſelves, and to which, without coercive force, all ſubmitted, is perhaps as good a model of a Republick as has ever been thought of. The moſt inſignificant member can convey his grievance to the ſtanding Council, almoſt inſtantly and without coſt, where aſſiſtance is always ready.—It was natural for ſuch a people under ſuch a leader, when they became lords and poſſeſſors of a country

country, to carry their own ſyſtem with them, nor can any thing be thought more ſimple and equitable than the laws eſtabliſhed in Penſilvania; but it has more of the Republick in its conſtitution, than any of our other Colonies. The ſucceeding proprietors who have fallen from the ſpirit of the founder, may yet regain, by a prudent uſe of their great poſſeſſions, an authority which may reſtore them to power; but at preſent, the only power they ſeem to have, is that of embarraſſing the proceedings of their aſſemblies.

This colony has the ſame diſadvantage as New England; its produce gives all the conveniencies of life in great abundance, but very few for European conſumption; ſkins, and furs are the principal. However, they carry on a great proviſion trade to the Sugar Iſlands, from whence they get ſome caſh; but a private trade carried on with the Spaniards, is their chief ſupply. They likewiſe ſend ſtaves and flower to Spain, Portugal, and the Iſlands, which

ſupplies them with wine, and ſometimes a ballance of caſh. But all they can poſſibly get centers in England, ſo that they, nor ſcarce any of our Amerian colonies, know the uſe of gold or ſilver paſſing in current payment. They have been obliged to invent a nominal medium of exchange, bills iſſued out by public authority, which go ſo low as ſix-pence. Theſe ſerve all the common uſes; yet, notwithſtanding this inconvenience, you ſee theſe people increaſing moſt aſtoniſhingly in numbers and riches, being furniſhed with all the conveniencies of life, capable of fitting out fleets, furniſhing and feeding of armies; all this without gold or ſilver. The Portugueſe have gold and diamonds in great quantities in the Brazils; but their people are few, ill fed, and cloathed, nor are they capable of fitting out fleets, furniſhing or feeding of armies.

Which of theſe are the richer country?

The great cauſe of the ſudden and aſtoniſhing progreſs of this colony, was the great encouragement and favour ſhewn to

all

all people of whatever country or religion, who came to settle among them; the poor fugitive Germans, who first went over, found themselves so happily situated, emerging from the extremity of slavery, and oppression, to the perfection of liberty and security, filled their countrymen by their account of it, with such a passion for migration, that it has reached every corner of that empire, and was it not for the interposition of princes, and the difficulty of crossing the seas, the same violent current of the human specie which formerly spread over Europe and part of Asia from the north, would have run with equal violence to America.

Carolina, granted to Lord Shaftsbury and others, though esteemed the first politicians in Europe, had not the same success. An excellent form of government was planned by some of the wisest heads in the kingdom; but so much care was taken to secure the liberty of individuals, that there was no where a sufficient power, to prevent eternal

civil broils among a fierce people, not ſoftened and aſſociated together, by the ſtrong tye of a new religion in the ſtrength and vigor of its enthuſiaſm.

CHAP. IX.

Darien attempted by the Scots; review of Virginia and the Fiſhery.

IN this reign, the Scots, not yet united with England into one kingdom, ſeeing the riches which poured into Europe from American colonies, made a glorious effort, and laid a plan for the moſt monied branch of commerce in the world, by forming a ſettlement on the Iſtmus of Darien, which would have opened to them a trade to the great ſouthern Ocean; and they would have effected it, the Spaniards being reduced at that time to the loweſt degree of debility, had it not been for the envy of the Engliſh, who have ſince heartily repented it, or perhaps from the antipathy K. William had conceiv-

ed

ed againſt them. Thus from ill timed prejudices was loſt to the nations, now one, a colony the beſt ſituated for thoſe riches of ſilver and gold, that fortune could ever put into our hands. The conſolation for our diſappointment is that philoſophic one, of its being in general a great misfortune for a people, as well as individuals, to grow rich too ſuddenly, which generally produces as ſudden a decay; and our northern colonies, which are a nurſery for population, will in the end, with the addition of power, put all the neceſſary and true riches into our hands, and it may be better to leave thoſe unhealthy climates to the preſent poſſeſſors.

The colony of Virginia, in which Maryland may be included, is a real ſource of riches from its tobacco, the uſe of which has been increaſing in one ſhape or other from its firſt introduction; but as great quantities of land are neceſſary, and the labour performed by negro ſlaves, the free inhabitants are few in proportion to the extent of the Country.

But the moſt uſeful branch of trade is the Cod-fiſhing on the Banks of Newfoundland, in which the French have ſhared with us; the people of New England catch a great quantity, and purchaſe more with proviſions. The fiſhery was for a long time entirely work'd by a people who went from the Weſt of England and different parts of Ireland in the ſpring, and returned after the ſeaſon was over, which is ſtill continued. By degrees ſome of them ſtayed the winter, and families began to be formed; but the inhoſpitable face of the country where they remained, frighted them from attempting to cultivate it, till a terrible ſcarcity one winter obliged them to think ſeriouſly of raiſing proviſions. As moſt of them were Iriſh, the firſt crop attempted was potatoes, which they found to excel even thoſe of their own country; ſince that, ſome few plantations have been formed; but as the people are few, and fiſhing ſo profitable an employ, a ſmall progreſs has been made; the

the government likewiſe conceiving it not worth their attention, no regular colony or government has been eſtabliſhed; but as it is an iſland lying farther ſouth than England, there is reaſon to believe, was it cleared as ſome of our provinces are, the climate would become more temperate, and many parts be found fine fruitful land. The planting and encouraging ſuch a ſtout hardy race as ſuch a country muſt produce, and ſo ſituated in an iſland, ſeems to be of great importance, as Nature has given in a fiſhery a ſtaple commodity to repay their mother country for its manufactures.

BOOK the FIFTH.

CHAP. I.

Queen Ann succeeds, and France reduced; but saved by a convulsion among the people.

QUEEN Ann came to the throne upon the eve of the grand war, between the confederacy which William had formed, and was at the head of, and Lewis the Great. The Queen reaped the glory which William had prepared; William formed that army with which Marlborough conquered; and the power of France, which had terrified all Europe, was on the brink of destruction, when they were saved by some trifling domestic differences in the English court, which a few ambitious men so artfully improved, that they overthrew a ministry, so strongly established in the

the opinion of the world in general, as well as themſelves, that no one was deemed ſo raſh as to attempt it;—but that ſecurity was their ruin. Theſe bold adventurers needed a ſtrong alliance to ſupport them. The Tories, who were terrified by the vaſt increaſe of the national debt, as well as angry at the neglect ſhewn them, readily joined their forces. And the Church, which had not been treated with that attention which they thought their own importance deſerved, or the aid given at the Revolution entitled them to, embraced this opportunity with the greateſt eagerneſs. The ſermons of theſe Gentlemen on one ſide, the intereſt of the Tories in the Country, with the deſire of novelty inherent in the people, gave ſuch a new face to the kingdom, ſuch a change of principles and politicks, that it was no more the ſame nation: the mighty conqueror Marlborough was obliged to fly for protection, to thoſe he had ſaved; nothing could ſtand the current; a kind of frenzy had ſeized the people, all was uproar, violence,

lence, and confuſion. The Gentlemen who conducted affairs in this ſituation, found a peace neceſſary; when on a ſudden, France, who had been begging a peace in Holland, with the moſt abject ſubmiſſion for ſo haughty a nation, grew cool on the affair, till at laſt England, under the new adminiſtration, was ſo embarraſſed, that a peace was almoſt begg'd of France.

They have gloried in putting an end to that deſtructive war, as they call it. And they certainly have the honour of laying the foundation of greater and more deſtructive.

The northern part of Newfoundland, which affords the beſt fiſh, was left them; that is, the uſe of the ſhore, ſo far as was neceſſary for the fiſhery, with ſuch a diviſion of America, ſo imperfectly ſettled, ſubject to ſuch diſputes, as have been full of fatal conſequences, when, as the French have confeſſed, they might have had the whole.

The Queen's health was greatly impaired by the difficulties that now ſurrounded her, which filled theſe Gentlemen with

with a new fear. The Elector of Hanover, who had been declared succeſſor by the Parliament, was known to be their enemy; the danger from that quarter threw them upon a moſt deſperate ſcheme, which was to introduce the ſon, or pretended ſon, of James;—Thus was the nation ſacrificed to the ambition of a faction; a bloody civil war was ripening apace, when the death of the Queen, and ſudden arrival of George the Firſt, ſaved the nation from its dreadful effects.

CHAP. II.

Obſervations on the Church.

AS about this time, the laſt great effort of the Church was made to regain the full exerciſe of Eccleſiaſtical power, it may be convenient to ſay ſomething of that powerful ſociety.

By the Church is here meant the whole body of Eccleſiaſticks eſtabliſhed by law, in

in their political capacity or government, of Archbiſhops, Biſhops, &c. and in their moral capacity, as the inſtructors of the people and improvers of their manners.

There has been no civilized conſtitution that we have yet heard of without a Religion, nor without a prieſthood, except the Quakers in Penſilvania, who are each a Prieſt to themſelves. The Legiſlators and Founders, or Reformers of Countries, were obliged to pay a particular attention to the manners and cuſtoms of their different people. And though the ground-work, or ſtrong prepoſſeſſions were formed by nature and antient cuſtom, the legiſlator molding them to his ſyſtem, or, where they were too ſtubborn, making his ſyſtem give way to unconquerable prejudice, ſo wrought the whole together, as to give a reciprocal aſſiſtance in uniting, in ſtrengthening the people, reforming in the beſt manner their corrupted morals, baniſhing violence, and giving peace, ſecurity, and harmony to the whole.

Thus,

Thus, when the conſtitution of England underwent ſo great a revolution, when property and religious opinions had undergone ſo great a change, the legiſlature was obliged in prudence, ſo to alter the doctrine, and policy of the eſtabliſhed religion, as to keep pace with the changed manners and opinions of the people as near as poſſible. That ſuch a medium between Popery and the exceſs of ſome Reformers, as took in the greateſt number of people which was poſſible, was fixed upon by the legiſlature in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, ſeems apparent to moſt impartial people, that it remains to be ſo to this day there ſeems to be altogether as little doubt of.

The political conſtitution of the Church, and its government, retaining a good deal of the antient form reſembling monarchy, was preferred to the Preſbyterian or Republican form, as our government remained a monarchy though much limited in power. The antiquity of epiſcopacy entitles it to veneration; the riches of the Church

Church, and learning of the Clergy in general merit reſpect; their uſe in ſociety is very great; after having gone through a regular education, they are diſperſed over the whole kingdom, in the remoter parts of which, they are often the only converſible men to be found; they are a bulwark againſt barbariſm, nor is it a wonder if by chance, one ſhould be found fallen from the dignity of his character, over-powered by the example of people he muſt aſſociate with, or live recluſe and hated: — they are honourable as the miniſters of religion, as the teachers of truth and virtue; nor let us forget their peculiar honour, they are the repoſitors of learning.

But this corporation or ſociety, learned and honourable as they are, are ſubject to the ſame paſſions, have the ſame ambition, the ſame deſire of riches and power with the reſt of mankind, which paſſions it is as neceſſary to have checkt and kept within bounds by their creator the legiſlature, as any other aſſociated body or powerful individuals

viduals whatever.—While they keep in proper bounds, like a river in its appointed channel, what can appear more beautiful or of greater uſe? But when from ſuperſtitition or enthuſiaſm, like a river breaking its bounds, ſhall deluge and deſtroy inſtead of nouriſhing, it is then all proper and moſt effectual means are to be uſed to reduce them to their true courſe.

CHAP. III.

Conſideration of the National Debt.

THE debt of the nation, having increaſed to an exorbitant ſum by the war of this reign, it drew the attention of all thinking men; it was looked upon as a prodigy, full of danger, portending and leading to ſome conſiderable change in the conſtitution; it may be neceſſary in this place to conſider its effects.

When the national debt began, England was far from being a great trading nation, how

how few money'd men is clear from the difficulty found in borrowing. The eſtabliſhing a Bank, and the conſequent credit, added ſo greatly to our medium of exchange, that it had almoſt an immediate effect. Every merchant and tradeſman by this means provided himſelf with a better and larger aſſortment; this increaſed the demand for manufactures; foreign markets were better ſupplied, and as the quantity of merchandize increaſed, the merchant and traders grew richer, and conſumed more themſelves. The manufacturers likewiſe got rich, and began to live like ſuch; this ſtill added to the conſumption and demand, till by degrees even the loweſt people are accommodated in a manner that raiſes the wonder of foreigners.

Among this great circulation, there muſt be great increaſe and ſaving. Lands muſt become of great price, therefore the funds ſeem the only means of employing ſuch ſurplus, which is continually increaſing; and the funds themſelves have been a cauſe of accumulation,

accumulation, the greater part of them being in the hands of parſimonious rich poſſeſſors. The Stock-holders are now grown ſo conſiderable, that the landed gentlemen may juſtly look upon them as rivals; but they are now greatly mixed; the Stock-holders have been, and are, many of them purchaſers of lands; and the ſaving Land-holders are proprietors in the funds.

Having thus traced how they have riſen to ſuch a pitch, let us now conſider the ſecurity and foundation on which they are built. It has been aſſerted by ſome, that all taxes are ultimately paid by the rich; that the labourer raiſes the price of labour in proportion to the price of ſubſiſtence; and whatever duties the government ſhall extract from ſuch, they are repaid by their employers: the price of labour having always a certain neceſſary relation to the price of ſubſiſtence.

The taxes in England have been increaſing gradually ſince the Revolution; the charge of ſubſiſtence has likewiſe been in-

creaſing; conſequently from this maxim the price of labour muſt riſe in proportion; let us examine if this is true, or if the poor have not made up the deficiency in doing more work by additional labour or ſkill: Whoever has been converſant among manufacturers, muſt know that the price of labour is not always governed by the price of proviſions; on the contrary, in great plenty, the workmen will do juſt what work they pleaſe, at what time, and in what manner, they pleaſe, and be paid for it, at their own price: Hard labour is not greatly reliſhed by mankind; it is neceſſity chains us to the oar, and makes us tug: Thus, when proviſions are ſcarce, the poor are obliged conſtantly to work the whole week, inſtead of two or three days; this makes ſuch diſpatch, that the work in hand is ſoon done; and now the maſters doors are crouded by petitioners for labour, content with the loweſt price, and performing with the greateſt care and exactneſs; this is the time the maſter gets repaid the money

lent

lent to his idle workmen, in time of plenty; which makes it clear, the above obſervation does not hold entirely true, in reſpect to manufactures; for labour of that kind, being moſtly done by the piece, the art and ſkill has ſo increaſed, that few workmen have occaſion to ſtrain themſelves to procure a good living, nor has that creeping kind of advance in the neceſſaries of life, occaſioned by taxes, had any conſiderable effect on the price of labour in manufactures, its chief effect has been the cauſing more labour to be done; again, all theſe taxes, after going through certain channels, return back again, and cauſe an additional demand for manufactures and labour; thus the circulation is kept up.

Whatever people may conceive or imagine, this principle will be found true:— Riches are the produce, and owe their being to labour; in proportion to the quantity and right direction of labour, will riches be; conſequently the workmen and labourers under their proper directors, are the

authors of all our riches, as well that ſhare the government takes, under various denominations of taxes, as the other greater, which ſupport themſelves, with all the idle people in the whole dominions; and adds to that ſtock of all things which conſtitutes the riches of a nation, which are not decreaſed by the addition of taxes; but on the other hand, the trader makes a profit as well upon the advanced price as upon the firſt coſt.

CHAP. IV.

Evils attending the Funds.

THE evils that moſt threaten the conſtitution, are the great property which accumulates and centers in a few. We may live to ſee a junto of Stock-holders, of as much importance in the adminiſtration as ever a junto of the firſt Nobles were in the feudal government; tho' very fortunately, they will not be ſo well able to ſupport themſelves,

themſelves, nor are ſo ſtrongly ſeated as the nobles were; yet they muſt be the ruling men in great cities; and the cities and towns are ſwallowing up the country.—The ſlavery of the people is another evil, and a neceſſary conſequence of the former; the ingenious method of making people work, will be improved to the utmoſt, all which will bring in great riches, which riches muſt center in them; this will ſtrengthen, and give an additional power to oppreſs, till at laſt the people will be ſo brought under, by the diſtreſs the Great ſhall at any time pleaſe to create, by the ſtop of labour, that they will be ſlaves in the very worſt ſenſe; over-toiled ſlaves, by no means equal to the idle hearty followers of our old nobles; they lived at eaſe, though ſometimes hungry; and the riſque of war, with its fatigues, was rather a diverſion.

CHAP. V.

The Two Remedies conſidered.

THAT ſome remedy ſhould be thought of is apparent; great will the honour be of him who ſhall form the ſcheme of honourably acquitting it. But that Prince who ſhall have abilities, integrity, patience, and reſolution to accompliſh it, will deſerve immortal honour.

There are but two ways of breaking this terrible Inchantment, or rather this Wen, growing on our political mother. The firſt moſt honeſt and in every ſhape beſt, is to pay it off; the other, to do like individual ſpendthrifts, involv'd paſt hope, or making ſuch an affair as the Knight Templars, or the Monks and Fryars turned out by King Henry.

The paying off the national debt, or mortgage upon the labour of the people, muſt have a moſt extraordinary conſe-

quence,

quence, which will be conſidered. The ſuppoſing us to be able to accumulate a ſum in ſpecie equal to it, is out of the queſtion; nor, was it poſſible, could it be of ſervice; beyond a certain neceſſary quantity, ſufficient to ſerve the uſe of exchange and credit, it would be hurtful, for when gold ſhall become, by its quantity in any nation, of too ſmall value in proportion to labour and neceſſaries, a more indigent people will work them out of all foreign trade, and ſcarce any laws will be ſufficient to hinder an inundation of foreign manufactures in ſuch nation.

There is a certain meaſure for every thing; ſo far may it be carried in ſafety, a little farther may be ruin; already has this debt been increaſed beyond what was at firſt thought muſt have been our ruin, without any apparent damage; but let not that delude too far; let us try at ſome calculation *(a)*. The People of England may

(a) This old calculation of ſeven millions of inhabitants, and their expences, at ten pounds each, tho'

be ſuppoſed at ſeven millions, at 10 *l.* each annual expence, which is ſeventy millions;

it may ſerve in point of reaſoning, is yet much under-valued; and we take the liberty of offering another calculation.

At 4*s.* in the pound, land tax amounts to	2 000 000
Deduct for what the houſes pay - - -	300 000
Upon land only the tax is - - - - -	1 700 000
We take for granted that a nominal 4 *s.* in the pound does not amount to more than 2 *s.* conſequently the annual rents of land only are - - - - - -	17 000 000

In England, where lands are ſo well ſtocked, and ſo expenſively cultivated, the produce muſt be three times the rent, which is 51 millions: -- We put down 40 millions of this produce to be proviſions; the other 11 millions to be materials for manufactures, &c. Theſe 40 millions, by the profits of the different circulators, with the expences attending its manufacture into dry and wet, with the exciſe, &c. before they are conſumed, may moderately be computed at 12 millions more.

Add to this the conſumption of wines, brandies, rum, ſugar, tea, coffee, fruit, &c. with all other exotic produce, loaded with their duty, exciſes and profits of the

Scotland

Scotland, at two million five hundred thousand, and Ireland at three millions, at five pound each annual expence, are twenty seven millions and a half. A people who live in plenty as the Engliſh, may part with a tenth of this income: But ſo poor as the Scots and Iriſh are, a twentieth would be to them as much as a tenth to the Engliſh, by which we may put the amount of all

ſeveral traders, till they are conſumed, which we put at 8 millions, all which amounts to 60 millions, for expences for the mouth only.

The next is to conſider what proportion the expence of cloathing, furniture, rent, building, with every other external expence, has to the expence in food.

Among the common people the expence of food is the principal. But among the better ſort, the external expence exceeds, ſo that upon the whole, upon the moſt moderate computation, it may be placed at two thirds, which is 40 millions; -- and makes the conſumption of the people of England only one hundred millions; which allowing 2 pounds a head additional expence, for the ſuppoſed increaſe of luxury, that is 12 pound a head, makes the inhabitants amount to eight millions and a third.

that can be drawn from the three kingdoms, at eight millions three hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds.

To ſqueeſe a greater proportion from a people than they can ſupport, without diſtreſs, may anſwer for the inſtant; but it is eating up the very roots, and the ſucceeding crop will fail in a terrible proportion to the ſmall matters ſo gained. Therefore we may venture to place the above ſum at a medium, according to the preſent condition of the different countries, that they are capable of furniſhing. Deduct from the above the intereſt of the national debt, the charges of collecting, with the expences of government in time of peace, there will remain no great ſurplus, though in a long ſeries, with great frugality, much may be done; but there is no probability our enemies will give us ſo long a reprieve, therefore ſome farther aſſiſtance is neceſſary.

If the Scots and Iriſh could be put on ſuch a footting, as to procure themſelves

that

that abundance which reigns in England, their expences would be equal, and of conſequence the ſame proportional ſums may be drawn from them, which would increaſe the revenue four million one hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds; but ſhould a ſcheme of population take place, and once more become a faſhion, it is far from extravagancy to ſuppoſe the people in England might be increaſed to ten millions, and yet live in equal plenty; nor is it wildneſs to ſuppoſe, Scotland and Ireland together may nouriſh an equal number, and thoſe infinitely better provided for than at preſent. To bring this about, many prejudices muſt be overcome; we muſt look out for another ſtand, that we may view our intereſt in a more inlarged light than we do at preſent.

The private ſyſtem and mere ſelfiſh paſſions have reigned long enough; we may hope that public virtue and univerſal benevolence may ſucceed their oppoſites, according to the natural courſe of things; and an

honeſt man ſhall dare to confeſs he acts upon principles of generoſity and benevolence; and not be obliged to find out excuſes for a good action, hinting, he had private views at bottom, to ſave himſelf from the reputation of a fool.

We confeſs ourſelves to have indulged our imagination poſſibly too much, in giving ſuch an ample field ſo richly furniſhed into the hands of thoſe ingenious Gentlemen of Ways and Means.

Let the people be in a capacity, they do not want to be inſtructed in the art of extraction.

If, after all, we ſhould be ſo unfortunate as not to be able to engage with this dreadful evil, from natural incapacity, or, what is more to be feared, from the weakneſs or wickedneſs of the heart of man, a misfortune to which governors, as well as governed, are liable, we may at laſt be ſo unhappy, that to be conquered would be an advantage, and procure eaſe to an oppreſſed people; and this muſt infallibly be the conſequence

of

of the conſtant, continual, additional burthen the people are loaded with, unleſs ſome remedy is found; and if ſuch remedy can no other ways be procured, it will be infinitely better for ſome able State Surgeons to cut off this Wen, this tumor that grows on the conſtitution. What can be the conſequence? A few thouſand people would have their fortunes greatly reduced, and ſome poſſibly to great diſtreſs; for having been accuſtomed to live by the labour of others, it would be harſh for them unpractiſed to labour themſelves. But theſe are accidents ſo common to life, eſpecially in England, where wealth ſo ſtrangely circulates, that you ſee few families who continue rich many generations; that in itſelf, it by no means can ballance ſo great a good.—The moſt dreadful conſequence, would be the ſtoping of credit, by which the circulation of trade is kept going, and the ſtop of labour in conſequence; in a word, a general ſtagnation; even the decreaſe of the conſumption of theſe reduced people would be

ſeverely

ſeverely felt. Such an operation would require an able practitioner, to provide againſt all the attendant evils; yet after all, deſperate diſeaſes muſt be treated with great boldneſs.

CHAP. VI.

The Reward of public Integrity.

COULD our virtues overcome this laborious taſk, a reward ſtands ready equal to its glory.—The united labour and induſtry of a populous nation is capable of moſt wonderful things; what amazing things have been done in times of public calamity; when a metropolis has been deſtroyed; when immenſe riches have been conſumed by dreadful fires, how ſoon has the labour of a vigilant people, under a wiſe government, healed the breach:—What efforts have been made in time of war by a people exhauſted to extremity; yet have a people, thus reduced, by patience

tience and labour, not only recovered their antient ſplendor, but from that ſpur to induſtry, which neceſſity firſt began, have arrived to a greater pitch of grandeur than they would otherwiſe ever have attained. —What gives the northern people that great advantage over thoſe of more benign and happy climes? why the difficulties and labours that their ſteril lands and inclement ſky neceſſarily impoſe on them; their numerous wants force them to labour;—what the land produces ſeems like a creation of their own; they are delighted with the work as well as fed by it: Labour and exerciſe become agreeable by uſe; and it is found abſolutely neceſſary for health; without it the ſpirits become vapid, and men often loſe all reliſh of their being, though ſurrounded with every delight.—This is the foundation of that ſpirit which will for ever prevail over the indolent inhabitants of more indulgent climates; and it is as neceſſary for a nation to have its employment and exerciſe as the individual,

and

and provided it be not overſtrained or iniquitouſly directed, it will be infinitely better for it.

Let us now conſider of this reward we have given expectation of.

The real wealth of a nation can include only the lands and ſtock on them, houſes and furniture, manufactures finiſhed, and crude materials, with jewels, coin, &c. and debts due from foreigners; all that wealth called ſtocks or funds is juſt nothing at all, or ſo much againſt us as is due to foreigners. But this we have oblig'd ourſelves to pay, which can only be done by the future ſavings out of the united labour of the whole. Every million paid off is ſo much taken from the ideal and added to the real national capital. This capital muſt be employed ſome other way; what preſents itſelf is the improvement of lands at home in Britain, and Ireland, increaſe of foreign trade, manufactures, and fiſheries; while other nations may, by the aſſiſtance of ſuch capital, make improvements in their trade and colonies,

of

of which we may ſhare the benefit; nor is it to be thought wonderful, that the mines of foreign nations ſhould be ſet to work by the means of Britiſh property; beſides the amazing effect it muſt have on our own colonies, for there is an inexhauſtable opportunity of improvement.

The decreaſe of intereſt, which muſt neceſſarily enſue, added to the decreaſing value of gold and ſilver, the ſtandard of the public Debt, gives very reaſonable hopes, that the attempt is not ſo inſurmountable as our fears have made it.

BOOK the SIXTH.

CHAP. I.

George aſcends the throne; and ſome farther account of parties, and the troubles that attended.

GEORGE the Firſt aſcended the throne at a time the whole nation was in a moſt violent agitation; he had entertained a ſtrong jealouſy of the latter adminiſtration of the Queen, which extended to the whole party, which had ſupported their ſchemes; nor was it poſſible for the King, a foreigner, to know the true characters of the ſeveral ſmaller parties, and individuals, that neceſſarily compoſe a faction of ſo great extent; nor is it to be doubted his ear was prepoſſeſt, that they were all indiſcriminately his enemies, which if they were not at firſt, the treatment they

muſt

muſt feel in conſequence of ſuch a notion, naturally made them ſo.—Both the great factions or parties are in ſome ſort compoſed of the ſame materials: Men of abilities and honeſty, fools and artful knaves; the honeſt men of both parties mean the ſame thing, the good of their country, tho' they differ in the means of procuring it. The Tories have not loſt ſight of the feudal government, and are deſirous of continuing the power of the crown and landed intereſt as the moſt ſolid ſyſtem; and are a proper check to the Whigs, who have ſome of them formed to themſelves ideas of government and liberty from thoſe rich fountains of Greece and Rome, while others have gone no farther than Holland, and aim no higher, than forming a great trading Republick, or ſomething like it; and this laſt ſeems to have influenced the majority of that party, not conſidering the difference between a ſmall country or ſingle city, and ſo mighty a kingdom as Great Britain. By their ſchemes England has been puffed up, and

ſwelled

ſwelled in ſuch a manner, that all nations are aſtoniſhed, and all are hoping ſoon to ſee the mighty fabric totter into ruins; which nothing can prevent but the united endeavours of the honeſt men of all parties, who ſtill may form a root ſufficient to bear ſo grand a ſtructure.

It may appear extraordinary, that a prince ſhould favour a party ſo inclinable to Republican principle, preferable to one ſo well inclined to royalty; but the reaſons of George were ſtrong. The Whig party had been too powerful for Kings eſtabliſhed, and had altered the lineal ſucceſſion in his favour; in a word, made him King; ſo that it was prudent and grateful to ſhare the royal favours, among the beſtowers of royalty.

A cuſtom of each party in their turns, was to inflame the minds of the populace with jealouſies and fears, of the evil deſigns of the government. The cry of Whigs was, Liberty is in danger, by which means the people overthrew royalty, which is the protector

protector of the liberties of the people, who would otherwise be as much slaves as they are in Venice, or the so much admired Holland. ——The Tories cried out, the Church was in danger, the meaning of which being very little understood, caused a most violent commotion among the ignorant Enthusiasts of the established religion; some thinking they were to lose their organs and bells; nay, the Church was to be turned into a Meeting-house, and the steeples taken away; something very terrible was apprehended; a fanatic fury and rage was visible in their countenances; hostilities were commenced, Meeting-houses were plundered of benches, pews, and old chairs, which their wrath committed to the flames: This warm'd the zeal of the Dissenters, and many in the country armed themselves in defence of their Tabernacles; in the midst of all this confusion, which was purposely kept up, an insurrection was planned in favour of the son, or pretended son, of James, who accordingly landed in Scotland,

Scotland, where the people were in general ready to receive him.

It requires a long time to wear out national prejudices; and the Scots gentry were far from being pleaſed with the Union; their importance had conſtantly been declining from their firſt connexion with England, yet while they remained a ſeparate kingdom, they ſtill remained of ſome conſequence, but by the union they were buried in oblivion. — The ſeverity of King William was not forgot; and the deſcendent, as he was there ſuppoſed, of their ancient Kings, applying to them in diſtreſs, had a wonderful effect; tho' great numbers were hearty friends to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, nor was the party of the Pretender in England ſo ſtrong as his advocates had ſurmiſed. There is great difference between talking and acting, ſmall reſentments, or even caprice, or faſhion, ſhall ſet the tongue going; but the ſerious conſequence and dangers that threaten action, always cauſe a ſecond and more deliberate reflexion, which

which was by no means a friend to that party or its deſigns. Former evils, almoſt forgot, were remembered afreſh; the good, even ſucceſs could give, was uncertain; and inſtead of relieving evils, whoſe being lay chiefly in a heated imagination, might bring on real heavy ones.—This rebellion was happily extinguiſhed; and the reſolution of the government, in taking off the heads of ſome of the leaders, entirely dampt the ſpirit of that party; however, the fear of it ſtill remained; and that only can explain the various management and actions of George I. and the firſt part of George IId's reign.

CHAP. II.

Politicks of the government.

IT is poſſibly one of the moſt difficult duties that a Prince can have fall to his ſhare, to govern and keep in order ſuch a people as the inhabitants of Great Britain, who, from the extreme liberty they enjoy,

and

and the independence with which they all live, by their fortunes or labour, are filled with all the violent humours nature is heir to; the great danger of such a constitution, is violent internal commotions and jars; and the best method of treating has been found to be forbearance and patience, waiting the turn of the disorder, leaving a good deal to time and nature, at the same time a steadiness is to be preserved.—This seems the plan George the Ist had form'd; but as he was quite a stranger, he must depend on his ministers, be his abilities what they will; and it was much easier to himself to entrust one with his chief confidence than to be disturbed by the disputes and cavils of a multitude. If that minister kept the kingdom quiet, it must appear to the King, his measures were right. The minister he chose was perhaps the fittest man to manage affairs in such circumstances as they were in. His address was winning; conversation delightful; even his enemies, as a minister, lov'd him as a companion; he was a man of

great patience, an able orator, underſtood the revenues to a miracle; but his greateſt talent, was his knowledge of the weak ſides of human nature in general, and of thoſe particulars whom he had occaſion to make uſe of.—His chief buſineſs was to ſecure a majority in the Houſe of Commons, with whom the principal difficulty lay, as they are the peoples purſe bearers; the Lords, whoſe dignity depends on the Crown, having never been very obſtinate in oppoſing the meaſures of the court.—The caſe was now altered from what it was; the people were formerly but little uſed to taxes; they were now accuſtomed to them; and the duties appropriated to pay the intereſt of the national debt, being more than ſufficient for the purpoſe, were by the advice of the miniſter, carried to one general account, which was called the Sinking Fund, and proved, by the miniſter himſelf, to be ſufficient, in no long courſe of years, to diſcharge the national debt; —a moſt noble and honourable ſcheme, if the ſame Gentleman

had put it in practice, instead of which, it seemed as if no such design was really formed, possibly from an opinion the throne was more secure, when such great property was connected with it; or the dilemmas he was afterwards under, might put him to the necessity of using that store, though he took especial care to have the accounts annually stated to the House of Commons, which tryal once passed, he concluded safe from retrospect.

For some time after the Rebellion was quashed, and the tumultuous mobing spirit had sunk with it, the administration remained tolerably easy; people were unwilling to be thought Jacobites, a term frequently made use of; but this jealousy of the King, which had promoted this minister, led him into an affair, which laid the foundation of his disgrace, and brought the nation into imminent danger.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Treaty of Hanover and its conſequences.

SPAIN had begun to make a figure, and having been affronted by the French court, made an alliance with Auſtria, which was looked upon as a deſirable event by ſome of our politicians: But Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, notwithſtanding his defeat and loſſes, had entertained a ſcheme to dethrone George, in favour of the Pretender; and the court of England believed Spain to be of the party, and was to furniſh money; this greatly alarmed them: France forwarded the notion; a treaty was ſet on foot, and concluded at Hanover between France, England, &c. to ballance the terrible alliance of Spain and Auſtria;—England attacked the Spaniards, and deſtroyed their fleet without a declaration of war; France bullied them without doing any conſiderable da-

mage; Auſtria was unable to aſſiſt. Thus France, by the aſſiſtance of England, convinced Spain of its weakneſs, and ſoon found means to heal the wounds of family and perſonal reſentment, renewing their old friendſhip ſtronger than ever, while England, though feared, was hated, and abhorred, for ſuch violent raſh proceeding; this gave the firſt motion to that mixed party, who by degrees united and formed the grand oppoſition.

Another evil attended this unhappy fear of the King's; he conſidered Hanover as an honourable retreat; his affections and attention were greatly bent to that country, ſo as to be much obſerved, and began to raiſe jealouſies; but theſe as yet remained in embryo, though they began to work; nor were agents wanting to ferment the riſing diſcontents.

It ſoon began to be more difficult to maintain a majority in Parliament; money was iſſued for elections, places were multiplied, penſions, honours, preferments, all that

that could influence was made uſe of, till venality in the end grew to ſuch a head, that the miniſter has declared, he has been obliged to bribe people to vote according to juſtice and their conſciences.

As George was called to the throne to be the protector of liberty, he certainly was ſo; nor could any thing ſurpaſs the freedom uſed in writing or ſpeaking; the Courts of Juſtice were filled with able men, and the law was left quite free, a fair open field for all parties to contend in.

The great proſperity of our colonies greatly increaſed trade and navigation; this proportionally increaſed many Sea-port Towns in Great Britain and Ireland, but chiefly London; and ſome country Villages began to grow into great Cities, by their manufactures; new fabricks were conſtantly invented; old ones improved; riches and plenty over-flowed the land.

CHAP. IV.

George the Second purſues the ſame plan of his Father.

WHEN George the Second came to the throne, it was expected there would have been a conſiderable change at leaſt of miniſters, if not of meaſures, from ſome differences that ſubſiſted between him and his father; but the whole continued to be conducted with ſuch a ſameneſs, that the Reign of George the ſecond ſeemed a continuation of that of George the Firſt. The ſame men; the ſame meaſures. He eſteemed them his true friends who had laboured for the good of his family; this not only created confidence, but, in ſo good a heart, planted a ſincerity of love and friendſhip, that does honour to human nature. George the ſecond never forgot or deſerted his friend.—As he was as great a

ſtranger

ſtranger to the people as his father, he judged of them from their ſpeech.

In all Countries except England, the people ſeldom ſpeak their true ſentiments, through fear, whereas with us nothing is more common than to ſpeak out of Bravo what they really do not think. A man, after talking like an infidel all day, like a good Chriſtian ſhall regularly ſay his prayers at night.

However, the conſideration of the uncertain humour of the people had the ſame effect upon him as it had upon his father. —Hanover was his native country, there he was adored; in England he had been inſulted: one was a ſure poſſeſſion; the other he eſteemed more precarious: it was impoſſible for a man not to love one more than another. Great Britain might indeed gratify his ambition, but Hanover muſt have his affections; and whatever benefits he did there, they juſtly merited; nor could he recompence them for what they ſuffered in conſequence of his abſence. It

has been proved, that moderate taxes collected from a people, which are again expended among them, are only an additional labour or exercise which never hurts, but is conducive of great good; but a Prince who lives out of his dominions, and does not return among his people what is taken from them; the hoarding thus made, being in gold and silver, in a Country that has no other medium of exchange, is productive of the most fatal consequences, as it stagnates and ruins commerce. It is like drawing away such a quantity of blood, that what remains will scarce creep through the veins. That this has been the case of Hanover, they will be ready enough to own, and so far from being the object of envy and dislike, they deserve our kindness and compassion.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

The great Oppoſition; its foundation and conſequences.

WHILE the conſtitution of Great Britain remains as it is; while men of abilities grow faſter than employments, there will for ever be contentions and trials of ſkill. From this cauſe aroſe one part of the grand Oppoſition; theſe were joined by the Tories; and a party whoſe deſigns were dark and ſecret, who had private hopes from that confuſion they laboured at with moſt indefatigable induſtry: Among this compoſition there were men of great abilities, who oppoſed the ſyſtem of Sir Robert, upon principle as weak and timorous, unworthy of ſo great a people. His genius, though ſubtle and full of ſhifts, was not equal to the ſtation he filled. The politicks of Great Britain wore the face of ſome little Principality or petty Republic.

This arose probably from the commotions at home; and this again added to the commotions, and gave him new enemies, every one who had the honour of his country at heart; he was pursued thro' every turn and shift. —The government at last was forced into a war with Spain, by the tumults of the people; rage and vexation made him neglect it; this added new fury; at last after maintaining his ground for a long time against the attacks of one of the strongest parties that was ever formed, who had heated the people and brought the nation to the brink of a civil war, he withdrew in a manner which will for ever reflect great honour on him, and all the threats of his enemies vanished into air.

The party now masters of the field, no more united by so potent an antagonist, felt disunion suddenly creep in; the composition was of various humours and designs; some who are supposed to have had secret views under a general confusion of introducing a revolution, and this Sir Robert never

never failed to ring in their ears, till it was made a jeſt of. — Ambitious men of all parties, and many well-meaning people, Whigs and Tories, with their Utopian ſchemes, with which the people were cajoled, who by the differences of the great, were made ſo much maſters as to make theſe their leaders feel the yoke in turn: That virtue and public ſpirit which had been ſo much talked of was expected in practice; nor were the people for pardoning the leaſt defect in a ſecretary of ſtate, how indulgent ſoever they are to their own.

But thoſe under the greateſt dilema on this occaſion were the honeſt men.—A perfect character is not to be found equal to our ideas; ſuch a one would indeed be unfit for our ſociety; yet, ſuppoſing ſuch a man willing to ſerve his country, alone, he cannot do it, he muſt aſſociate and act with others, for man is as incapable of doing good, as receiving it, without ſociety; thoſe he aſſociates with, if many, muſt have different views, and be acted by different

paſſions;—if he will do ſome good, he muſt ſubmit to ſome evil; let his wiſdom uſe all its influence, folly and violence will frequently take the lead; he is enliſted and muſt on; at ſuch a time ſhould he deſert, or declare againſt ſuch proceedings, the whole party fall on him, ſtigmatiſe, reproach him.—The populace catch the cry, and he is delivered over to infamy; and this will happen to him who ſhall be ſingularly in the right.

There could not poſſibly be a more critical and diſagreeable ſituation than his Majeſty was in at that time; when a common man finds that he has loſt the authority and power in his own houſe, what muſt he feel? How much more muſt a great King feel in the ſame condition? It was wiſdom to yield to the tempeſt; by letting it take its courſe, it broke itſelf.

Thoſe whom the Court had leaſt ſuſpicion of, were firſt advanced; eager for prey, they catched the bait without conſulting the whole body; they began to ſcramble,

which

which when the people ſaw, the infamy with which they had loaded their predeceſſors, was a bauble to that fullneſs of contempt which fell on them.

Others, more deep, acted with greater caution, propoſed union of parties, that men of abilities and honeſty ſhould be employed, without other diſtinction than who were the better patriots; theſe preſerved popular favour.

In the mean time the routed party, obſerving the diviſions, rallied, and put them to a ſtand: It was then the moſt violent party took the lead, the moſt violent ſchemes were formed, a civil war was on the very edge of breaking out, when ſome of the ableſt leaders, to ſave their country from ruin, quitted the party, and rather than be the firſt men in the deſtruction of their country, choſe to preſerve it, at the price of popular reſentment and reproach.

The party, now without leaders, not having ſhewn that ſteadineſs and abilities which was expected, ſunk to nothing; and the old

old party, with the addition of new converts, recovered the management, and went on in the old way with equal weakneſs and puſilanimity. Thus died away that mighty oppoſition, though with theſe good effects; it raiſed the ſpirit of the nation, and patriotiſm has ſince been found not altogether chimerical.

CHAP. VI.

Ill conduct of the war.

THE war was carried on againſt Spain with great remiſſneſs; the weakneſs of our councils, and conſequent weakneſs from ill choice of men in the executive part, made us the ſport of Europe. The people had been puffed up with an idea of ſeiſing the whole Spaniſh Indies, a ſcheme that many thought probable. But the dreadful effects of unhealthy climates were not properly allowed for, which, with the ill conduct of the commanders, rendered abortive all

all our golden dreams.—The diſgrace was mortifying, but ſucceſs might have been much more ruinous; thoſe conqueſts muſt have been maintained with an immenſe expence and waſte of men, and men are of more value than ſilver or gold.

France having entered into the war, we were obliged to act a part on the Continent. The navy had been kept up with great ſpirit by the conſent of all parties, and had always been in good condition; but from a long peace, our troops were few, unexerciſed to war, without commanders of note, the firſt officers having riſen to their rank by age and ſucceſſion, when the young Duke of Cumberland took the affair in hand. In the ſeveral battles he was in, though fortune did not always treat him with that kindneſs his bold addreſſes merited, he ſtudied and comprehended the weakneſs and ſtrength of the different diſcipline, of the various troops, he had ſeen in the field, from whence he formed a ſcheme for the improvement of the military ſcience in England;

England; he has executed it, and though he has been denied an opportunity of gathering thoſe laurels he planted, the honour of being a principal agent, and one of the firſt ſprings of our preſent national glory, is certainly due to him; by him have we been taught to beat the French in their ſtrength, their fortifications.

CHAP. VII.

Rebellion in Scotland.

FRANCE having obſerved the violent factions and parties, concluded the Chevalier de St. George had yet a ſtrong party in Great Britain, which might be turned to advantage, nor could any one expect otherwiſe; notwithſtanding the allowance for the licentious ſpirit of the Engliſh, treaſonable converſations were held, treaſonable healths drank, and that not in obſcurity but almoſt publicly.—— There was a general diſcontent of meaſures, which the Jacobites and French taking advantage of, puſhed their ſcheme with great diligence;

diligence; nothing could equal the moderation of the government on such an occacasion, a man must have shut up his understanding, not to have seen and fear'd; nor was the conclusion of Sir Robert wrong; but it may be said, the fear of the evil, and the unhappy means of guarding against it, ripened and brought it on.

The son of the Chevalier, arriving in France, was equipped, for the gaining a mighty Kingdom, like a Hero of Romance; his whole company, when he arrived in Scotland, had the appearance of a hunting party, not of a competitor for the Crown. He was joined slowly at first by some of the Clans in the Highlands, and the affair might have been quashed, but his Majesty was in Germany, and the administration at home was equally negligent and timorous. Distrust at such times always forwards the evil; confidence begets confidence, and resolution begets resolution: Thus, while affairs were debating, the rebellion got head; for after becoming a body others were forced into

into the ſervice, in a little time they formed themſelves in a condition to march; they advanced to Edinburgh, through a kingdom, without oppoſition. The troops being in Flanders, and the whole kingdom of Great Britain ſo diſarmed, that after the defeat of the few troops under General Cope, a general conſternation ſeized the people; the friends of Liberty and his Majeſty flew to arms, voluntarily training themſelves in every corner of the kingdom; this terrified the Jacobites in England, who found that all thoſe who uſed to join them in railing at the government, or in drunken frolicks might join farther in their ſentiments, were far from wiſhing ſucceſs to them; ſober reaſoning, and proſpect of danger, having placed things in a true light.

The King happily arrived, and part of the troops from Flanders, while the Rebels were amuſing themſelves at Edinburgh, waiting an attempt from France, upon which their party was expected to form in England; for the ſucceſs in Scotland had

determined

determined France to make a deſcent with about fifteen thouſand troops from Bologne, or that coaſt, to the neareſt part of England, in fiſhing-boats, which were ſuppoſed ſufficient to effect it in three trips.—In hopes of this, the Rebels advanced into England in the winter, by way of Carliſle, General Wade being at Newcaſtle with an army; the Duke of Cumberland was ſent with another to oppoſe them; and a third army was collected to defend the capital; yet upon a rumor that they had paſſed the Duke and were advancing to London, the panick and terror of the rich luxurious citizens is ſcarcely to be imagined.

The heart of every honeſt man was deeply affected to ſee his country reduced to the condition of dreading a body of about ſix thouſand half-armed mountaineers, who were always beat by their own Low-countrymen, ſo defective in former times were thoſe now terrible broad ſwords and targets! How much greater then was the mortification, that they ſhould

ſtill

ſtill be terrible, notwithſtanding three armies, each of which were a match for double ſuch a force; after advancing as far as Derby, and finding themſelves diſappointed from France, Admiral Vernon having by his diligence hindered the execution of that ſcheme, and their friends in England not in a condition to aſſiſt with more than good wiſhes, they retired with the utmoſt expedition, out-ſtriping the horſe, till at Clifton they made a ſtop, and formed a plan of cutting off their purſuers, which might have been effected, had not a panick ſeiſed them, believing the whole army was at hand. Their affairs, having received a check, grew every day more and more deſperate; a few were left a ſacrifice in Carliſle to cover their retreat to Edinburg, whither they were ſoon followed by General Hawley.

However, a freſh dawn ſhone on them for a ſhort time; having received ſome reinforcements, they ventured giving Hawley battle at Falkirk; where, to the aſtoniſh-

ment

ment of the whole world, they got the victory; and could they have believed their good fortune in time, the conſequences might have been more fatal: An accident of a moſt terrible ſtorm beating in the face of the troops, in the very inſtant of action, damaged their firelocks, and greatly contributed to their confuſion.

The horſe being ordered to attack the rebel foot, were the firſt put into diſorder; upon which a multitude who were on the neighbouring hills ſpectators of the battle, ſhouted with all their might; in a little time the rout became general.

It is a hard matter to account for the behaviour of the ſame men at different times; the fooliſh panick of the people ſeems to have tainted the army.

The Duke of Cumberland was diſpatched to Scotland; his ſpirit infuſed courage; under him the rebellion was reduced without any farther misfortune.

Although the rebellion finiſhed with the deſtruction of thoſe unhappy and deceived people

people who entered into it, yet it fully anſwered all the expectations of France, which was the leſſening of credit, and rendering ſupplies more difficult. This, with the ill ſucceſs in Flanders, inclined the miniſtry to peace, which France readily hearkened to, as their marine was greatly deſtroyed, and they were fearful of their colonies in America. The affair was ſoon adjuſted, for France was threatened with a famine; every one had their own again, ſitting down with their loſs, except the King of Pruſſia and Don Philip. But France obtained one article full of infamy for Britain:—As the fortreſſes of Madraſs and Louiſbourg were reciprocally to be delivered up, they inſiſted on the Engliſh giving hoſtages for their performance of the treaty.—In granting of which, they confeſſed themſelves to be conquered, and ſubmitted to be treated on the footing of a barbarous nation, without Faith.

Theſe ſame men, who conducted this humbling and mortifying treaty, had courage enough, when his Majeſty having

called to his assistance a man of known abillities and spirit; — these same Gentlemen, at the most critical of all times, had courage enough to throw up their commissions, and desert his Majesty, unless he submitted entirely to their directions.

CHAP VIII.

Consequences of the war, and condition of Great Britain.

UNDER the long administration of Sir Robert, there certainly was an opportunity of lessening the national debt, supposing the internal peace of the kingdom to be secure; but it does not appear that the King or himself thought it to be so, which led to such shifts, and little measures, such corruption, and dark ways, which though allowable upon extraordinary occasions, as it may be necessary to bribe a bad man to do good; yet to make it a plan of conduct for a series of time was most inexcusable,

excuſable, and worthy only of a very narrow genius.—If Sir Robert was capable of deceiving the King, and had no other view than maintaining his place and power, he is unpardonable.—For meer ambition, to ſacrifice the nation's wealth, to be the object and cauſe of ſuch dreadful diviſions, fuller of ruin than any foreign war, is never to be forgiven.—The morals of the people were greatly hurt;—the doctrine of mankind, being influenced meerly by the moſt confined and narrow ſpecies of ſelf-intereſt, had multitudes of practical advocates; — public ſpirit and the love of country were treated as chimeras, and vain illuſions.

It has been the maxim latterly to chooſe miniſters from among the ſtrongeſt factions or parties in the Houſe of Commons, which may have been convenient; but it is worth the conſideration of the public, if that ſyſtem has ſo probable a face of frugal and patriotic adminiſtration, as the employing the ableſt of the nobility;— when a Commoner, who by his party has a majority in the

the houſe, gets into his and their hands the adminiſtration of affairs, there does not remain a proper check; and the more there is to ſquander, the more ſecure will be the ſquanderers. On the contrary, if the nobility were employed, there is nothing but their own uprightneſs can hinder them from being called to an account, from a natural jealouſy that will attend.

This kind of adminiſtration will be attended with more difficulty, as the Commons will become more careful of the peoples purſe, in proportion to the diſtance it is from the management of their leaders. But this ſeems to be the true ſpirit of the Britiſh Conſtitution.

The war increaſed the national debt about thirty millions, and left it in a worſe condition by a loſs of reputation. This encouraged France to treat us with little reſpect, and prompted them to purſue thoſe ſchemes which ſoon brought on another war.

Amidſt all this, the people were improving in manufactures and huſbandry; two ſuch inexauſtable fountains of riches, that this additional debt was very little felt; this was a general caſe, which every party endeavoured to promote: — The firſt care after the peace, was the lowering the intereſt of the national debt, which proved of great conſequence.

The province of Carolina made prodigious advances in trade; the firſt deſign of not admitting ſlaves, prevented in that hot country the neceſſary improvements. For Europeans were not to be had in ſufficient numbers, nor were they capable of ſuffering labour in thoſe violent heats; but the importation of Blacks being allowed, the rice plantations grew amazingly; and having found the indigo plant, they grew ſo much of it, as to over-ſtock the market. The newly planted colony of Georgia went on ſlowly. Theſe warm climates, though rich and fruitful, are not calculated for European

conſtitutions,

conſtitutions, who do not multiply as they do to the northward.

The government likewiſe formed the new ſettlement of Nova Scotia, to the north of New England; and built the city of Hallifax, as a check on the French, and ſecurity to the other provinces.

BOOK the SEVENTH.

CHAP. I.

France renews the war, at firſt with ſucceſs.

FRANCE having ended this war ſo much to her glory, and conceiving a mean opinion of the Engliſh councils, imagined a better opportunity could not offer, of getting ſome important advantage in America, in order to which, they never would ſettle the limits with the Commiſſioners appointed. They expected Britain would ſuffer any thing rather than enter into a freſh war, burthen'd as they were with ſuch additional debts, and whoſe ſpirit ſeemed exhauſted by the meanneſs ſubmitted to in the laſt peace.

They began by building forts at the moſt important paſſes, and had got together ſuch a force, that when they firſt began hoſtilities,

tilities, the British colonies, separated in different and distinct governments, at great distances, were with great reason in the utmost terror of an enemy, united in one head, and so situated, as to make its attacks, in what quarter it pleased: — From America hostilities spread to Europe, ships were taken by the English, and Minorca attacked by the French, without declaring war. France was almost every where victorious, and threatened Britain with an invasion; the ministry were frightened; troops were hired from Germany, and demanded from Holland. Britain seemed like a school-boy under correction of his master; to such a condition were they reduced, when the whole people, with no small difficulty, got the better of the ministry, and their favourite, Mr. Pitt, was placed at the head of affairs.

CHAP. II.

View of the Politicks of Europe.

THE politicks of Europe in general, as well as England, were in a critical ſituation; our natural ally was the Houſe of Auſtria; but they had a buſineſs at heart of the utmoſt importance to them. Germany ſtill preſerves the form of a feudal government; and the Emperor conſiders all the Electors and Princes of the empire in ſome meaſure as his ſubjects; and it is only when he wants power that he does not make them know it;—the more powerful have generally, by an alliance, ſupported their independency, though they have often been obliged to call in foreign aid, ſometimes France, ſometimes Sweden:—The King of Pruſſia, Elector of Brandenburg, ſtood as the head and bulwark of the liberties of the German Princes; it was his downfall which the court of Vienna was plotting, when Britain made its application. Auſtria would readily

readily have entered into the measures of Britain, if Britain would second her measures against Prussia. — There were two strong reasons against it: The King of Great Britain, as the first Protestant Prince, could not consent to, or permit the destruction of the bulwark of the Protestant Religion in Germany; nor, as Elector of Hanover, could he give up the liberty of the German Princes.

The French threatening Hanover, and the people of Britain having been made to entertain a contempt and hatred against that poor country, his Majesty made a treaty with the King of Prussia for its defence. The pleasure he received from that measure was of short duration, for the more attention his Majesty shewed for Hanover, the more France was sollicitous to lay hold of it; with this bait the court of Vienna brought France into an alliance, the most unnatural and destructive to herself, for should Austria by her means become sovereign of Germany, France would be im-

mediately exposed to its united strength; should it be attended with ill success, what shame and disgrace!

CHAP. III.

The attempts of the French against Hanover, and their Consequence.

THE French marched a powerful army into Germany, and got possession of Hanover; the Duke of Cumberland, who commanded, not having sufficient force to withstand them, being denied a reinforcement of his own-formed British troops and artillery.—We have seen since, what a few of them have done; nor are we to doubt but he, whose genius in a manner created them, would have known how to employ them to the advantage of his country, and honour of himself, instead of being obliged to sign that convention, by orders from home, which left France in possession of Hanover.

The

The King of Pruſſia behaved like a lion ſurrounded by hunters; for the genius of Auſtria, which has for ever brought other nations to waſte their treaſure, and fight battles for the ſupport of its grandeur, never exerted itſelf ſo ſtrongly as now. Ruſſia, Sweden, and ſeveral German Princes, as Saxony and others, beſides its old enemy France, entered, from various views, into the Scheme of making that family maſters of Germany; but France, having gained its point againſt Hanover, made no great efforts againſt Pruſſia, expecting, with that in hand, to make an advantageous peace with Britain, from the affection his Majeſty was known to bear that country.

France knew the diſpoſition of the Engliſh to Hanover, and hoped, from that hatred conceived againſt it, ſo to have embarraſſed their councils, as to be productive of ſome internal confuſion and troubles.— It pleaſed God to avert theſe impending evils, and turn them to the ruin of France.

The prodigious efforts of the King of Pruſſia, his intrepidity, conduct, and fortune, terrified his enemies. France was obliged to act againſt him, and the defeat at Rochbatch was the beginning of their evil fortune.

The poor Hanoverians having been ſeverely plundered by a General, who ſeem'd ſent only for that purpoſe, groaning under the tyranny of their new maſters, took advantage of the conſternation they were in, and by a bold and fortunate attempt, regained their country and liberty; now the violent Engliſh themſelves began to give them that pity they had long deſerved: They were ruined in a quarrel not their own, and were hated by thoſe in whoſe quarrel that ruin was firſt drawn upon them.

The moſt violent Anti-Hanoverians were now for aſſiſting them, and in that, compaſſion and every tye of humanity was ſeconded by true policy.

When two nations are at war, the deſign of each is all poſſible damage to the

other. To compaſs this, great expence and danger muſt enſue, if the powers are near equal.

One great evil is the waſte of treaſure expended among a foreign people to return no more. The other is the loſs of battles, armies, and territories. And in war the advantage of ground is of the greateſt conſequence. — To attack Hanover, France makes the whole expence among a people, and in a country, from whence it never returns, ſo that France has been ſeverely expoſed to the firſt evil: nor let us ſuffer ourſelves to be amuſed with tales of the extraordinary œconomy of France: The food, the arms, munition of all kinds, and every eventual expence, muſt be nearly the ſame; nor are French contractors or commiſſaries a whit better than the Engliſh; on the contrary, are obliged to conſider in their profits the extraordinary riſk they run.

Again, to attack Hanover with probability of ſucceſs, requires a numerous army of good troops; for if they are few, by

the assistance of the German Princes, whose trade is war, they have nothing to fear.—A great army is long assembling, and requires immense supplies; and to march such an army through an inhospitable and barren country, hated by the inhabitants, who never lose an occasion of betraying them, and opposed by hardy native troops, who know every inch of ground, and how to make use of it, is a difficulty and labour, one would wish an enemy.—After the season is almost spent in slow advances, and the troops weakened with fatigue and sickness, greatly reduced in numbers, the Germans, if they please, may fight them, or continue harassing till the severe season sits in, when the poor French have the worst enemies in the world to deal with, Cold and Hunger; and happy are those who get back to tell the dismal tale.

This has ever been the case in all the attempts and expeditions of France into Germany.—What armies have been lost! What treasures spent! What neglect of their marine

marine, which this German war has disabled them from supporting! — Let the good people of England rest contented about Hanover; let them think no more of the expences of that war, and the few troops there perfecting themselves in the art: — It is there their enemies have been ruined; and France, with the greatest reason, will for ever curse Hanover; nor need it be feared, in any future war, that Hanover will be the theatre they will choose to fight in.

With Britain, the damage, even in disbursements, has not been equal; besides, we have fed our armies in part from home, and our manufactures, with the produce of our colonies, sold to Germany, have kept us in some measure upon a balance.

CHAP. IV.

Consequence of the Union of Parties.

UNDER the new minister Mr. Pitt, all parties seemed cordially to unite, drawn together by the present distressful condition

condition of affairs; one of the firſt ſteps was raiſing of troops in Ireland, and accepting of Roman Catholicks; and in the Highlands, among thoſe who had been active in the laſt rebellion, converting into uſe thoſe fiery ſpirits and humours, which our enemies had ever employed againſt us. Chiefly with theſe troops, under more fortunate commanders, were thoſe great conqueſts made in America, by which our antient colonies are perfectly ſecured, with the addition of a whole continent, which it is now in our power never more to ſuffer an enemy to get any footing in.

From the date of this union, a general train of ſucceſs has attended our affairs. The Iſland of Guadaloupe, a valuable acquiſition, beſides the conqueſts in Africa. The coaſt of France was inſulted with ſome ſucceſs; and in India the ſame good fortune attended. — The ſhips and ſquadrons of France, wherever they were met with, ſeldom eſcaped; every officer fought with an emulation equal to what hiſtory can furniſh;

furniſh; and this ardour might be increaſed by that mixture of parties, for there was no more ſmothering or ſcreening a puſilanimous behaviour or neglect of duty.

The ſudden emerging of Britain from the contemptible figure ſhe made, to its preſent aſtoniſhing power, fills all Europe with amazement and jealouſy.

The King of Pruſſia, its only ally, has gained equal glory; who, with the pecuniary aſſiſtance of England, has, by his prudence, valour, and military ſcience, baffled the mighty powers of Auſtria and Ruſſia, beſides the efforts of the Swedes, who alone, in their turn, have been the terror of the north; and Saxony, which, though now making no figure, till lately, was always eſteemed more powerful than Brandenburg.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Concluſion of the Reign of George the Second.

THUS had his Majeſty, in the latter part of a long reign, the happineſs to ſee his enemies fall before him, and their own evil machinations to his diſturbance come tumbling down upon their own heads, with multiplied ruin.

And to this may be added, the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction of finding himſelf beloved by his people, in a manner which his own royal virtues as a King, and goodneſs of heart as a Man, entitled him to, which the falſe medium, and dark clouds of faction, had obſcured during a long period of his reign. He finiſhed in glory; which has deſcended in full ſplendor upon his grandſon and ſucceſſor, our preſent ſovereign, George the Third.

PART

PART II.

Conſiderations on the Nature of Man, and Political Societies, with reference to the Conſtitution of Great Britain.

BOOK the FIRST.

INTRODUCTION.

HAVING in the former work gone through the moſt remarkable periods and turns in the Britiſh Conſtitution, with the reciprocal conſequences they have had on trade, and trade on them, we ſhall now endeavour to trace, from the nature of man, in all the different ſtages and progreſſions he paſſes through, the foundations upon which ſocieties and governments have been built,

built, in order to come at the idea of the moſt durable and moſt beneficial of the kind, that we may throw ſuch lights upon the Britiſh Conſtitution, by which ſome good may accrue to our Country; by which is meant the whole body of the people which form the Britiſh empire, not confined to a ſingle tract of land or ſoil, but in whatever clime choice may have led, or neceſſity have compelled them to reſide in.

CHAP. I.

The firſt Condition of Man, as obſerved in the moſt rude Societies, or Savage Tribes.

THE paſſions of men, and all other animals, were deſigned by nature for the preſervation and continuation of the ſpecie: As the condition of man is capable of great variety in reſpect to individuals, ſo is it in their ſeveral joint conditions, or political ſocieties; and according to the condition,

dition, will naturally grow a ſet of affections proper to it.

The firſt condition of man is very low; he is ſimply an animal of prey, and lives by chace, for which nature at firſt ſight ſeems to have very ill fitted him; but, more nearly conſidered, the form of his body is juſtly adapted to the powers of his mind, and the underſtanding he is poſſeſſed of in any other known form would be uſeleſs; and this form, which without the mind would be the weakeſt in nature, is by it maſter and ruler of all.

His food is chiefly the fleſh, and his covering the ſkins of animals caught in chace; but with all his contrivance, ſingle he would be expoſed to infinite miſeries and hazards, ſo that neceſſity makes men aſſociate. Thus in company muſt they hunt, in families muſt they live, and jointly muſt they provide for their young, and their own future wants.—The paſſions of ſuch a people muſt be very few; ſecurity againſt cold and hunger for immediate preſervation;

tion, the affections of the two ſexes for each other and their off-ſpring, for the continuance of their ſpecie, and the love of the whole tribe they are members of, ſeem to be the whole. This laſt, called, when extended, love of country, is founded in nature as much as the others; for nature gives a feeling pleaſure in the exerciſe of all the duties ſhe enjoins, and in this firſt natural ſtate that paſſion acts with the utmoſt vigour, not being balanced as afterward by a croud of others. Its ſtrength and vigor riſes and falls in proportion to the neceſſity of mutual aſſiſtance, nor does it naturally extend beyond the bounds of its particular ſociety. There is nothing exerciſes this paſſion ſo much as war, which, notwithſtanding all its horror, man ſeems to have by nature as horrid a delight in.

The firſt wars among the neighbouring tribes were founded on neceſſity, it was fight or ſtarve; and they were eaſily induced, from ſheding the blood of beaſts, to ſhed the blood of thoſe men who robbed them,

them of their food by hunting on their lands.

Another ſtrong paſſion to ſecond this love of country is, the deſire of honour and general eſtimation, the conſequence of public ſervice, which is ſtrongly felt in all young ſocieties; nor are the moſt ſavage Americans ſtrangers to the idea of dignity and importance, which ſeems a fundamental paſſion; and whoever, in treating with them, ſhall neglect the neceſſary reſpect, will ſeverely feel the conſequences, if in their power.—This condition is likewiſe capable of, and for the moſt part the people have, a religion. As their life is ſubject to many accidents, and beſet with difficulties depending on the uncertain chace for ſubſiſtence, they muſt be ſubject to a kind of ſuperſtition, as is obſerved in ſeamen, gameſters, and whoever are ſubject to a variety of fortune and ill accidents.

Theſe accidents being ſometimes favourable, ſometimes otherwiſe, and beyond their abilities to account for, the idea of two diſtinct

ſtinct ſuperior powers, which influence their affairs, will naturally take place, and is for the moſt part obſerved among them. This condition will not admit an increaſe of people; it juſt ſerves to continue the ſpecie on the face of the earth.

CHAP. II.

Second Condition of Man, when Arts begin to dawn, which produce greater plenty of ſubſiſtence.

IN the ſecond condition of the human ſpecie, when the uſe of ſeed and roots have been diſcovered, with the breeding of tame cattle, we find the carniverous diſpoſition of man, of great benefit to the animals he feeds upon. He enters as it were into ſociety with them, partakes his ſhare of labour, and contrives with all his care for their increaſe and ſupport, which to them greatly over-balances the ſhortening of ſome of their lives for his uſe.—As this

ſupplies

ſupplies in greater quantities thoſe firſt wants of nature, the number of people will naturally increaſe, for in proportion to the ſubſiſtence will the people be; this is the firſt population of a country; from population muſt proceed of courſe a farther diviſion of the tribes into families; and from the increaſe in property of cattle on the lands, muſt proceed a farther divided property in them; this neceſſarily introduces the firſt rough deſigns of laws, order, and government.—This ſecond ſtage of ſociety was the condition of the antient Patriarchs, and is the preſent condition of moſt part of Tartary, and of the Indians to the ſouth of Buenos Ayres, and what the Indians of North America are falling into. — The Poets have dwelt in raptures on this youth of ſociety, before the violent paſſions of men had introduced and made a ſcience of government; their fancy forming out of this natural eaſy condition of life, various delightful ſcenes, lamenting how nature has been

been perverted since cities were built, which let in such an inroad of new desires.

Having thus far advanced, the labours and exercise of the body decreasing, man found the first benefits of thought: he is now bent on farther improvements.—The society being split into a number of lesser ones, under their Fathers and Elders, it continues till the passions of men, naturally violent and voracious, breed disorder and confusion.

The convenience of property, now distinct among the different tribes, becomes a subject of envy to the poor, and gives haughtiness to the rich; stimulated by necessity, the poor, who for the most part are enemies to labour, choose the shorter methods of providing for themselves from the substance of the rich; or the rich may rule with violence and ill treat the poor, for both are voracious; this produces quarrels and battles, the evil of which at length forces them to appoint a supreme power in some order of government, to which they all become

became ſubject, and when this is done by mutual conſent, it will naturally be of the Republican kind; but one powerful family very often by art or force becomes maſter of the whole, from the enterpriſing genius of ſome leader, and then it becomes a Monarchy.

Ambition, or the ſpirit of leading and commanding, founded on the deſire of honour and pre-eminence, is a paſſion neceſſary to ſociety; which though a particular may be poſſeſt of without abilities, yet where abilities are, ambition grows as in its native ſoil; from the various characters and deſigns of men has ſprung that variety of government and order among mankind.—The ideas and views of theſe ſo far exceed the vulgar maſs or common herd, that they naturally ſubmit in times of neceſſity and difficulty; one is born to lead and govern, the other to be led and governed.—When one of theſe ariſes, who admires greatneſs for its own ſake, who conſiders power in itſelf an object of deſire,

he will naturally form a plan not only of attaining it himself, but continuing it to his posterity, as the most worthy inheritance he could possibly bequeath. To attain this desirable point, there has been one method the most apparent and effectual, which has been used in such distant countries and periods, that it appears to be, and most probably has ever been, a work of nature, more than art.

CHAP. III.

The first monarchies built on Religion, which is the third condition of Man.

IT has been mentioned, that in the first condition, men are not without ideas of religion, and the power of superior natures distributing good and evil; in the second and more plentiful state, where the mind is more at leisure, pleased with the first fruits of thought in themselves, they are led farther:

ther: they will naturally contemplate these powerful objects of hope and fear; they will endeavour at some idea of them. The Sun and Moon are the first things that present themselves, and have been for the most part the first objects of adoration, the strong exercise of contemplation and devotion in a mind full of imagination and fervor. Common experience continually teaches us, that visions and dreams are a natural consequence; the mind will catch at something; the substance, or true knowlege of divinity, is infinitely beyond the powers of our reason.—In these visions, how easy is it to believe themselves the favorites of the Gods, or even a partaker of divinity. When a visionary of this kind first springs up in society, he must act from the ideas he has conceiv'd of his own more important and superior condition;—he loses the little selfish motives of his nature, and seems to live only for the good of others. This, with the power and vigor of his inflam'd imagination, astonishes the people; they admire

him as ſomething ſuperior; the contagion begins and ſpreads like lightening, for man is naturally full of the ſeeds of viſion and enthuſiaſm.—A ſociety is formed upon a new principle of mighty force, a union of minds and partnerſhip in divine things, by which men, ſeeming to leave their own nature, are elevated to Gods and ſons of Gods. And this paſſion has been a moſt principal motive for drawing men to live together in large bodies or cities, under the diſcipline of ſuch divine leader; nor is any thing more wonderful in nature then the mighty empires formed on this baſis.

It is paſſion that ſets men to action, nor is it neceſſary that leaders of this kind ſhould be furniſhed with the moſt ſolid and cool reaſon, which would ſtop the courſe of thoſe fiery genius's; nor is it poſſible for humanity to form and execute ſuch a ſcheme cooly and deliberately; though this kind of Enthuſiaſm is often attended with ſubtelty and addreſs, nor is any thing more common then to ſee the imagination of a man

man bear him away with uncontroulable violence on one certain object, while his mind ſhall on every other occaſion exert an admirable vigor.

Beſides the firſt difficulty of uniting and bringing men to act together being accompliſhed, improvements of every kind will be a natural conſequence, their ſuperiority over their yet divided neighbours is apparent, nor will they loſe ſo much of their nature as not to exert it; and happy are the conſequences, when the religion happens to be the offſpring of a benign and friendly mind; conqueſts made by ſuch are the happineſs of the conquered; but how terrible when it is the offſpring of a gloomy furious melancholy, the blood, ſlaughter, and general maſſacre that enſue, are horrid to the laſt degree; however, though paſſion precedes, and is the cauſe of action, yet reaſon follows; and however fierce the firſt leaders may have been, the ſucceeding leaders have, by their wiſdom and moderation, for the moſt part tempered the firſt heat and fury, by that

means giving ſtability and duration to the prevailing ſyſtem.

That mankind have, by this principle, been originally drawn together, ſeems clear from the teſtimony of known hiſtory, and fully explains the fables of the antients with their Demi-Gods; nor need we go ſo far, daily obſervation proves the mighty force of a religious enthuſiaſm in aſſembling together and forming mankind into the cloſeſt union of ſociety, and the power and vigor of a ſociety thus formed, is greatly beyond what is founded in ſocieties united together from natural conveniency only.

This paſſion of religion, when ariſing from the orderly and harmonious ſide of nature, has ever been under all its various forms a bulwark againſt the violent and greedy nature of man, it ſoftens his ferocity, and capacitates him for ſociety, in a more inlarged ſenſe then what he appears to be from his more immediate bodily appetites.

The firſt governments, which took their riſe from a ſect of religion, may have been monarchical

monarchical or republican; that depended on the diſpoſition of the leaders and nature of the people; thoſe who took a form from the union created by common danger of powerful enemies, naturally incline to the Republican; but ſocieties of this laſt kind are not of the firſt growth.—Monarchy, which united with itſelf the prieſthood, or the prieſthood who made itſelf a monarchy, has the faireſt pretence for the firſt eſtabliſhed government, and claim to antiquity.

In thoſe rude ages, written laws were not known; the King, who was alſo prieſt, diſtributed juſtice from his own breaſt; and what ſcience there was, muſt be then among the King and his officers; as the ſociety grew, and imployments increaſed, as leader and prieſt, a more regular form and order was neceſſary in civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs; councils were eſtabliſhed for the one, and prieſts for the other; each of which muſt neceſſarily be dependent on the firſt and ſupreme magiſtrate. Theſe prieſts, or ſa-

crificers, as they were firſt called from their employment, grew by degrees into authority, from the veneration of religion in the people, which naturally included the miniſters of it, till at length they arrived to a degree of power in many ſtates, inconſiſtent with the eſtabliſhed policy, or firſt deſign of their inſtitution.

CHAP IV.

The condition of Property in the Firſt Monarchy.

WHEN men were firſt formed into ſociety, the lands, which were before common to all, muſt fall under the direction and diſpoſal of the magiſtrates, who may appropriate them in what manner they pleaſe; and this is likewiſe the caſe of all additional lands by conqueſt; and from obſerving the diſtribution of the greateſt part of moſt ſtates, and the tenure the lands are held by, gives a farther proof of Monarchy

narchy being the first established government.

Let us consider it as it appears in its first dress among the Turks, who were a northern people, and have preserved the original form. The Grand Signior is Lord Proprietor of all the lands of his empire, which has been kept inviolate; nor have they permitted territories, provinces, or governments, or indeed any considerable property, to descend from father to son, or given any kind of independent right. The children of the great descend into the common mass, and from slaves and the common sort are drawn new governors and rulers, except the Ottoman family alone, who are considered as the divine successors of their Prophet. This maxim, added to the prohibition of letters and learning, has been the means of preserving the original constitution in the same form.

The feudal governments in Europe have strong marks of the same original; all power and property in lands was confessedly in the

crown, and they ſeem to have loſt it by degrees; how far their religion was interwoven into their civil policy cannot now be known; nor do we know what it was. However, we know it was not remarkable in hiſtory for cruelty and deſolation; and the numbers of the antient inhabitants remaining in their conqueſts, made it neceſſary to give the ſeveral commanders (who were maintained out of the lands where they reſided) ſuch a power, that by degrees it became difficult for a weak prince to change them, or prevent the ſon ſucceeding; for they had not hit upon the expedient of the Turks, who keep in pay a body of troops compoſed of men who are ſuppoſed not to know their origin; and who are never ſuffered to marry or have any connexion with the people. Theſe are at hand to ſtrike terror into the great, and reduce them to their duty. Another great reaſon of the decline of monarchical power, was the introduction of the Chriſtian Religion, by which means the prieſthood were made independent

independent of the Monarch; and the grants the Church procured from the crown often reduced the poor King to a more feeble condition then ſome of his vaſſals.

America, which preſents an object of nature in its firſt rudeneſs and ſimplicity, has alſo afforded the ſecond and third conditions. The fierce hunting tribes of the north, the more civiliſed as you advance ſouthward, who live on fruit and tame cattle;—and the empire of the Yncas in Peru, founded on a religion beneficent by all account as the object of worſhip which was the Sun, may be rated among the firſt of the kind, and was perhaps the beſt pattern of paternal monarchy in the world; but it muſt be obſerved, it had not been of very long ſtanding, nor arrived to its full growth and period of corruption, when the Spaniards arrived, with arms and arts unknown to theſe new people, and put an end to the empire in the reign of the eleventh Ynca.

CHAP. V.

Cauſes of the Decline of the firſt Monarchies and Birth of Republicks.

THE empires and kingdoms which took their riſe from religion muſt have a vigor in proportion to the ſtrength of the firſt operating principle.—Although religion is ſo powerful and active a principle, yet the excellencies that it aims at are ſo far above the ordinary bent of nature, that it is with difficulty the ſpirit of it is ſupported. The ſelfiſh and greedy paſſions, which ſtick cloſe to our nature, notwithſtanding the ideas of beneficence and excellence the imagination may be worked up to, are ſuch a conſtant weight, that by degrees they weigh down the more excellent and generous paſſions.

Pride

Pride and ambition lead the way among the great; and the desire of rule, with the thirst of riches and power, having once seised them, that principle of religion which first drew men into society, is made use of to bind on the fetters of slavery. The first noble and associating principle decaying, the bulk, from the example of the great, are delivered again to the selfish passions, with this additional grievance, that nature is no more contented with her former moderate allowance, a set of new craving desires and wants have been introduced, which are the more troublesome, the less use simple nature has for them; to these man becomes a slave: If one purchase them by labour, another is contriving by force or fraud to avail himself of them; when it thus happens that the bond of union is broken, and meer low selfishness governs, and is the leading passion, a kingdom or state is on the brink of destruction, which may be brought about by being conquered by a people in whom the associating principle is in full force,

force, or may break and divide of itſelf, being ſplit into ſeveral ſmaller tyrannies or republicks, or both.

Although the body of a people may be corrupt, yet it ſeldom happens that all are ſo; the idea of order, government and ſociety will for ever remain; the evils of the firſt will not diſcourage a ſecond attempt. Thinking men, having felt the miſery of a deſpotic government, have formed ſchemes to prevent it, by frequent changing the firſt Magiſtrate who acted with a Kingly power, adding a ſenate of Nobles; others gave the Commons a vote in the groſs, in tribes or repreſentatives; ſome had Kings for life, with a council of Nobles alone, others added the Commons; and it frequently has happened, that one of theſe governments or republicks has changed its form ſeveral times.—The beginnings of theſe has ever been ſmall, and whoever ſhall conſider the nature of a Republick, where every member has ſome ſhare of power, will find it calculated for ſmall ſocieties

cieties and territories; where a man is capable of feeling he is ſomebody.

Although the law-givers of theſe inſtitutions have by no means neglected religion, but have endeavoured to awe and influence the people to their duty, both private and public, by a devotion to the Gods they worſhiped; yet there aroſe in this form another paſſion, or rather the natural aſſociating paſſion felt in the firſt tribes renewed in all its vigor, of which theſe communities bore ſome reſemblance; for the good and evil of the ſociety was like the former ſenſibly felt by each individual, and this was conſtantly kept alive by the dangers their ſmallneſs expoſed them to; this introduced the ſtudy of the art of war, how to make up a deficiency in numbers by ſuperior ſkill and reſolution.

Likewiſe the arts of negociation, alliances, and prudence of government in every article.—-Several having ſmall territories, others only a rock in the ſea, juſt big enough for a city; they were under the neceſſity

of great labour and ſkill in all arts to buy themſelves neceſſaries from their neighbours, which, by their prudence, has riſen to ſuch a head of wealth and power, that a people, poſſeſſed originally of a rock or little ſpot of land in the ocean, have given laws to the neighbouring continent:—arts and ſciences of all ſorts owe their riſe, or at leaſt their perfection, to theſe kinds of governments. There ariſing ſo much exerciſe for all the paſſions of nature, the ſelfiiſh as well as the public, and that in ſo narrow a compaſs as to be eaſily diſcerned, gave an opportunity of forming the beſt laws for their proper temperament. The invention of money, for the benefit or forwarding of traffick or exchange, and of wonderful uſe, appears to be born among them, as the uſe of letters and numbers was; to which we are beholden for all our ſciences.

There was nothing eſcaped their inveſtigation, every thing was examined, men began to conſider their own natures, and dependence on the Deity. They were ſtruck with

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the beautiful order of the world, and began to form more consistent ideas of its author; in a word, to these little free states, is the world indebted for the foundation of all its knowledge.

It is wonderful how the mind of man may be elevated by contemplation, above what his natural condition seems to allow; his ideas are the offspring of his own feelings, in which his body is the first agent.—Yet from such original materials will he mold a form to present him a prospect of perfect beauty, order, and harmony; and you shall see a little infirm mortal, full of pains and diseases, forgetting a while his miseries, sing, in a rapture of enthusiastic delight. "That whatever is, is right."

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Observations on the two famous Republicks of Lacedemon and Rome.

AMONG the various Republicks that have in turns had their existence, there are two, which mankind have delighted most in, and placed in the first rank of glory, the Lacedemonians and Romans, both formed for war, but of different construction. The Lacedemonians had a small territory, surrounded by other petty Republicks; the design of Lycurgus was only to make his people the master, or leading power, but not to assimulate or incorporate the others.—By the force of persuasion, after infinite insults, he prevailed on the rich to part with their possessions of lands, which were divided into as many shares, allowing for the dignities and distinctions absolutely necessary, as would afford

afford one family ſubſiſtence, and it was provided by laws, that two of theſe lots ſhould never center in one inheritance, ſo that there was a neceſſity of there being as many families, as there were diviſions. The number thus aſcertained were divided into tribes, and theſe into ſmall ſelect ſocieties, who fed and exerciſed themſelves together, among whom ſo perfect an union was preſerved, that, on balloting for a new member, a ſingle negative put him by. Their food, their dreſs, their houſes and furniture, were regulated in a moſt ſingular and plain uniformity, their education and exerciſes were directed by the magiſtrates, their ſubſiſtence being reduced to the real wants of nature, and their utenſils of the ſame caſt: there was no room for commerce, even had it not been prohibited, as it was to freemen.

Their time was taken up in the diſcipline and exerciſe of arms; nor were any people greater maſters of the firſt duty of a ſoldier, obedience; to compleat the character, and prevent any private paſſion intervening, or

obſtructing

obſtructing the aſſociating or public one, they were not permitted to labour, but had their lands cultivated by ſlaves. The whole was bound together, by the higheſt veneration and ſincereſt worſhip of their protecting Divinity, or Gods.

This wonderful conſtitution, the labour of one man, laſted in vigor, 'till they learnt expence and luxury, in the Perſian wars. When that happened, the lands of ten families ſcarce provided for one; rapine and fraud, with all the ſelfiſh paſſions, broke in; the laws were no more a ſufficient ſecurity; in a little time, this invincible Republick, from an army of thirty thouſand, could ſcarce muſter five thouſand men, and fell a prey to the firſt power who had reſolution to attack them.

The Romans were originally an aſſembly of labouring huſband-men, robbers and out-laws, collected together by Romulus into a ſmall village, which he pompouſly called a city: a race ſo contemptible, that none of their neighbours would furniſh them

them with women; however, by a bold ſtratagem, they got themſelves provided out of the beſt families in the neighbourhood.—The wives who muſt have had the beſt education of the times, were greatly inſtrumental in reducing them into ſome order, and from this aroſe the great reſpect and honour ever paid to the Roman ladies.

The idea of Romulus was very great; he formed his plan for extenſion, and to aſſimulate and ſwallow up the neighbouring ſtates, thereby to create a formidable power.—This firſt theft was followed by a war, which ended, to his wiſh, in an union of the two people. There was originally at Rome a diviſion of lands as among the Lacedemonians; huſbandry was their chief employment, and was eſteemed honourable even in Patricians; the arts of trade, and trading people they deſpiſed, and every thing which tended to weaken the body or ſoften the mind.—They were originally robbers, and the paſſion for plundering never

never left them.—Numa indeed brought them into ſome tolerable order, by means of religion, and qualified them to live ſomething better one among another.

After him they were almoſt eternally; at war, every little conqueſt was an additional ſtrength, by taking in the people, 'till by degrees, they became an object of hatred and terror, not to their neighbours only, but more diſtant countries; for by arming themſelves with the additional power of every conqueſt, at laſt they met with no power capable of reſiſtance.

The condition of theſe people was a conſtant ſcene of ſtrife, without or within. Their wars, in which they were often expoſed to the utmoſt peril, and in the fortune of which every member of the community was a ſharer (the danger as well as profits being divided among them by the conſtitution of the ſtate) forced them to a union; the neceſſity of mutual aſſiſtance, to which they were particularly encouraged by honours, muſt make them feel the full force of

of the associating passions;—The simplicity of their living, or the labour and frugality with which all new people begin, continuing with them a long time, by lessening their wants, screened them from the violence of the selfish passions; yet early in their history the rich began to oppress the poor: a man returning from the wars, covered with honourable wounds, was dragged to prison for a debt there was no means to avoid, but by starving; nor were the common people justly dealt by, in the division of the conquered lands; what they did get, was with the utmost difficulty; and this iniquity laid the foundation of their overthrow. On the least cessation of danger from without, a civil commotion sprung up, many palliatives were used, and alterations made in the government; but what principally kept the fabrick together, was a maxim introduced by Romulus; each Senator always had more or less of the Commons under his protection, called clients; and the union between

patron

patron and client was looked upon in the moſt ſacred light; the patron defending on all occaſions his clients, and the clients in return, with their perſons and purſes, were devoted to their patron. By this means there was a ſubdiviſion of the people, into clans and ſmall ſocieties; in which every man felt himſelf to be taken notice of, which ſtrongly occupied the aſſociating paſſion.

It was the influence of theſe patrons with their clients, that generally prevented the ill effects of popular diſcontent.

When a conſtitution grows in greatneſs and extent, it ought to grow and extend equally in every part, if firſt rightly poiſed.

The baſe or foundation of all government is the common people, who, to be free, muſt, by their labour or poſſeſſions, have the means of ſubſiſtence; among the Romans, trade was deſpiſed; therefore labour was no ſubſiſtence for a Roman; conſequently a ſhare of land ſufficient to produce the neceſſaries of life was the only means

means of ſubſiſting a real free Roman; that the lands were not divided in a manner to increaſe a proportionate number of common people, ſufficient to form a proper baſe for ſo mighty a ſuperſtructure, is very evident; and it was a poor ſhift to infranchiſe ſuch numbers of ſlaves and ſtrangers, who had no other property than the privilege of ſelling their votes;—ſuch citizens muſt neceſſarily depend on the great for ſupport, who were enabled to give from their vaſt poſſeſſions, for they had almoſt monopoliſed the lands which they worked by ſlaves; wealth was now the only road to power, which, from their great conqueſts, grew to ſuch a head, that a Noble was not eſteemed rich, unleſs he could maintain an army.

The conſtitution was then entirely loſt; it ſtaggered on a little time, by the people and inferior nobility keeping a balance between ſome of the moſt ambitious and over-grown, till this ſhadow of a Republick was over-thrown by Cæſar.

CHAP. VII.

The laſt condition of Society, or Old Age, when a Military Deſpotiſm has taken place.

THERE is nothing that ambitious men are ſo fond of, as the delivering down to their poſterity the abſolute dominion they have ſeiſed on; yet, if they were to give themſelves the time to reflect, they would be convinced, it was the moſt dreadful gift they could beſtow.—The mind of man naturally falls into the little, private, ſelf paſſions and enjoyments.—In private life a man is kept in awe by the laws, and the neceſſity he has of his neighbours eſteem.—The ambitious man requiring great aid, muſt of force encourage the ſocial and friendly paſſions.

The ſoldier has ſo immediate a dependence on his aſſociates' aſſiſtance, he muſt feel them; but one born to controul, and which

which he becomes acquainted with in his infancy, has none of these motives to lead him to, or enforce the use of, reciprocal love, aid or succour; he is alone, and being without equal, he cannot have a friend: all are servants, and the love of a servant must differ from that of a friend. He may indeed be influenced by religion, and the awe of a Deity; or he may be led by the renown of certain characters to imitate them; or perhaps, his nature may be so good, that the ideas of truth, justice, and beneficence, may take such a root in his soul, that the love of them shall become a spring of action, and adorn him with true glory; but unhappily the world has never produced many of these last characters. The succeeding Cæsars after Augustus were such wretches, a man would be ashamed of being the father of such a race; yet he who shall create the same power will ever be the author of such; what after this period might be called Roman, was the military;—the necessary discipline, the ac-

cuſtomed fatigue and danger, preſerved them in ſome degree from the general corruption, and what Princes of worth afterwards ſucceeded, and held up for a time the tottering empire, were drawn from thence, till at laſt the eaſtern and weſtern empires were overthrown by two different people, who were in the full vigor of their aſſociating principles.——The virtues of which many Princes of Europe may have had to boaſt, have for the moſt part ariſen from the equality and emulation among themſelves; none are ſo great as to be free from diſturbance, and many of them from their ſituation are greatly expoſed; and it may be obſerved, that corruption introduces itſelf in proportion to the diſtance they conceive themſelves from danger.

The admiration with which the world has beheld theſe two Republicks, the applauſes given them, and all other warlike people, and every obſervation on human nature, ſhews it to delight in ſtrife. Men were originally hunters, and they continue the

the ſame, only varying the manner, under all forms of government.—They adore the warrior in the firſt rude tribes, in the monarchies of their youthful ſtate, in the ſtrength and vigor of their prime condition as free citizens; and in their old age and impotency, when they fall back into deſpotiſm and tyranny, they have ſtill the ſame paſſion, though with a more languid and feeble ſpirit.

BOOK the SECOND.

CHAP. I.

Conſtitution of Great Britain.

THE conſtitution of Great Britain was not formed upon any certain plan, but has been erected by degrees, from the various contentions and ſtruggles of its different parts, whoſe bounds of power were never abſolutely ſettled, nor ever can be; yet the revolution brought it to ſuch a conſiſtency and harmony, that little room is left for inteſtine diviſions on that head.—It is an original, and of a more complex conſtruction then any hiſtory has left us an account of;—the generous aſſociating paſſions, patriotiſm, or the love of country, have full opportunity of diſtinguiſhing themſelves; nor can they any where ſhine with greater glory: on the other hand, thoſe of

of the inferior, and private individual ſyſtem, are ſo balanced, and their evils ſo well provided againſt, that they rather forward and contribute from their activity to the public welfare.

The admired ſyſtems that ingenious men have formed in their own minds, or have in a degree been put in execution in ſmall ſocieties, and petty Republicks, to ſupport which, the mind of each individual muſt be formed, or as it were caſt in a mold, to fit it to the condition reſolved on, is what never can be applied to ſuch a great nation as Britain; nor can the republican principles drawn from the policies of ſingle cities, be applyed to a conſtitution compoſed of many great cities, themſelves Republicks inveſted with great power, beſides a vaſt extent of populated country; the manners of a ſmall people may be better watched, and as the aſſociating ſpirit is more confined and ſtrongly felt, men are more ready to ſubmit their own private paſſions to the ſtate, but in ſuch a mighty

conflux of people there is no ſuch thing as ſtopping the courſe of the private ſyſtem and ſelf paſſions, which, led on by ignorance, invade the mind and take ſuch root in all ranks.

All that can be done, is to provide againſt their ill effects, and leave them to their courſe. As theſe paſſions are of a wonderfull active nature, and gain the view of all, it keeps up a ſpirit of labour and induſtry, that gives life and vigor to the whole.——The circulation of property in Great Britain is truly amazing: The lands themſelves are continually moving from hand to hand, ſo that the value of the whole changes in a ſmall courſe of years, while the merchants and traders riſe and fall like meteors.

Moſt free States have been jealous of individuals growing too powerful, and have made laws to prevent too great acceſſion of property, and it might be of uſe in Great Britain: but the idea of liberty, the very ſhadow of which we are jealous of, being

being in that ſeemingly abridged, the vice of extravagancy is left to correct the vice of covetous hoarding, though its evil example is of ſo pernicious a tendency, and is the ruin of ſo many youth.

The whole ſyſtem of our laws ſuppoſes with great juſtice, that the heart of man is ſo prone to the private ſelf-ſyſtem, as not to be truſted. No man is heard in what may moſt diſtantly concern himſelf;—ſo careful are the laws, that no power is intended to be left the judge, who in Great Britain is nominal only; he is preſident of the bench of juſtice; but the people, as called forth in juries, are judges of each other, a happineſs peculiar to ourſelves, and the wiſeſt inſtitution that man ever thought of; for a man cannot expect to be judged with more mercy and juſtice, than by his neighbours, or people of the ſame condition, who are ſubject themſelves to the ſame tribunal; by this means a ſet of men are annihilated, who form a principal part in the conſtitution of moſt other States,

and among whom, experience proves, there is for the moſt part a corruption, and iniquity, equal to the opportunity and temptation,—the bribery and injuſtice is not to be conceived by thoſe who have not had experience: beſides, the prodigious power and influence ſuch an office creates, is inconſiſtent with liberty, and was among the Romans a principal internal evil, which puſhed that mighty State forward to its ruin; and by this likewiſe the liberty and independency of individuals are ſecured, who are not obliged for their ſafety to form little ſocieties, and put themſelves under the protection or patronage of the great; and upon emergency, inſtead of relying on the juſtice of the laws, concern themſelves chiefly how to influence diſpencers of juſtice, by means of ſuch connexions.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Diviſion of the Conſtitution, and Conſiderations on Cities and Corporations.

LET us now conſider the conſtituent parts of this great fabrick, as Corporations and Cities, Gentry, Nobility, Religion, King; beginning with Cities.

The forming mankind into ſocieties, building cities, and eſtabliſhing laws, is the nobleſt work of humanity, as the end is mutual preſervation and benefit;--to procure this, arts are encouraged, ingenious men honoured, and population in particular attended to, or the boaſt of Themiſtocles was fooliſh, who vaunted, he could make a ſmall Village a great City;—but a principal point to preſerve the ſyſtem, was the education of youth:—for man being brought from a barren ſoil, where his wants

and paſſions were few, to a rich ſoil, productive of every thing, where his wants and paſſions were ſo greatly increaſed, his vices keep pace with and are too apt to overtop and choak his virtues; for that reaſon, the greater care of manners and culture of the mind was neceſſary, and that is the buſineſs of education, to make men better ſons, better huſbands, fathers, friends, and better citizens. Not the art of confounding truth and falſehood, or waſting time in unneceſſary ſciences, or attempting what humanity can never arrive at.—The Greeks deſpiſed the ſtudy of languages as time loſt; to know things was their aim; we have been obliged to it, for not having a ſtock of knowledge of our own, neceſſity compelled us to ſtudy the antients; they ſtudyed nature, and underſtood her, as nature is the ſame, the leſſons of virtue drawn from that fountain muſt remain in full vigor of inſtruction, yet the difficulty that attends, and time neceſſary for, a thorough education of

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that kind, makes it neceſſary to think of a method of inſtructing in our own language. The ſame ends may be nearly attained; there are few ſciences that cannot be taught in Engliſh, and things are of more importance than words; beſides, the ſame book of nature, the antients made uſe of with ſuch ſucceſs, ſtill remains.

The Cities of Great Britain are, many of them, equal in riches and number of inhabitants to the moſt famous of antiquity; 'tis true, they are not inveſted with ſovereignty, as the Greeks were, but are only members of a more extenſive ſovereignty, in which they have the advantage of greater ſecurity, ſo that their policy extends only to their internal government and welfare; their ſyſtems are republican, and that of London is admirable; the whole body of the people have not a vote, but ſuch who are of ſufficient conſequence to be put on the livery of their reſpective Companies, which is never done but to people of ſuppoſed property. Theſe chooſe the Sheriffs and Members

bers of Parliament in a general hall, and in their ſeveral wards the Aldermen, who are magiſtrates for life, likewiſe the Common Council, who are choſen annually. Theſe, with the Aldermen, chooſe the Mayor, and the power of making laws and regulations is in the whole. The city of Briſtol is of the ariſtocratic kind, and reſembles the city of Holland; the members of the council are for life, and are not elected by the people, but fill up themſelves the vacancies. Theſe elect the Mayor, who, after his mayoralty, is of courſe an Alderman, and fill up all other offices;—but the Members of Parliament are choſe by the whole body of freemen and freeholders, who are not often of the ſentiments of the corporation.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Population conſidered; of Cities.

THESE conſtitutions were originally deſigned for handicraft traders, and merchants; and they ſtill remain in the ſame hands.

There is no paſſion more prevalent then jealouſy; and the trader, who conſiders every thing with a view of profit, is the moſt jealous of all men. Traders here hold the magiſtracy, and have the power; the conſequence of which is, they will prevent all the rivals they can, and they look upon themſelves as obliged to watch in the ſame manner for the artificers and inferior people, which renders it almoſt impoſſible for an artiſt to enter a city. The moſt ingenious are ſeldom rich, they have for the moſt part ſome vice or folly, to which they are ſlaves. By this means a

city chaſes from her the moſt valuable of all men, and encourages the idleneſs of its inhabitants.

There is in the nature of youth a propenſity to roving; examine the inhabitants of any town, and you will find a multitude of ſtrangers;—the off-ſpring of cities fly off like others, nor is the defect ſufficiently made up by apprentices, or people capable of purchaſing their liberties; and this is the caſe of the city of London, notwithſtanding all its advantages.

The borders without it's juriſdiction are flouriſhing; and Weſtminſter flouriſhes, while London pines, and cannot fill its houſes with inhabitants; bridges may be built, avenues may be opened; but 'till the ingenious, the laborious, are invited and encouraged inſtead of being perſecuted and chaſed away, the ruin will ſtill continue and even increaſe.

There is a law in Briſtol wiſely calculated, and of very good effect; for though the men often go abroad ſeeking their bread,

bread, the women moſtly ſtay at home; to encourage marriage and population, the woman, free born, communicates her privilege to her huſband.

In the free cities of Germany, from whence our models were taken, they have conſidered the propenſity of youth to travelling, and have made a wiſe uſe of it; they even oblige every artizan, after his apprenticeſhip, to travel for more or leſs years, according to his trade, or birthright, as being the ſon of a free maſter of the ſame branch.—He is furniſhed with a certificate, which he produces to the maſter of the company in whatever city he chooſes to reſide in, the maſter finds him work among the trade, and he is paid according to adjuſtment with his employer, 'till he chooſes to remove.

Thoſe who return home, are eſteemed in proportion to their travels and the ſkill they have acquired, and are always ſettled; others, who in their travels ſhall marry a maſter's daughter, are admitted into the company,

company, and may become a maſter in that city with very little charge; by this means the ſpirit of emulation and ingenuity is kept up with great harmony, and population preſerved, and for the moſt part, men, like plants, thrive the better for being tranſplanted.

In Great Britain, manufactures fly corporations; ſo fatal are thoſe falſly-called liberties when in unſkilful hands, and ſo little do our city magiſtrates underſtand the ſcience of Themiſtocles.

The little ſelfiſh paſſion deſtroys all around it, and in the end its poſſeſſor; there are other reaſons for the depopulation in London; as the difficulty of entring into life, which prevents marriage, and the cuſtom of the middling and even lower people, from neceſſities, idleneſs, or the love of pleaſure, who ſend their children to common nurſes, with which the city is ſurrounded and filled; with them the chance of ſurviving is very little, and if the conſtitution

ſtitution weathers the tryal, they remain a poor puny race.

CHAP. IV.

Education.

THE bulk of the inhabitans of moſt cities are tradeſmen and handicrafts, moſt of them men who have introduced themſelves into a comfortable ſtate of life from an inferior condition, by their labour and patience.—Where men are advancing from an inferior to a ſuperior condition, the frugality and labour neceſſary in the former ſtill remains, and is long wearing off; they thrive exceedingly, like plants remov'd from a barren to a good ſoil; but that ſpirit they cannot convey to their children; the more ſucceſsful the father has been, the greater is the danger of the ſon; thus we ſee ſuch a circulation of people and families; this extends through all degrees and ranks

ranks of mankind: Nature not only gives to individuals to ſee the goodly ſcene of the world, but her bounties are ſo managed, that a man may comfort himſelf, whatever his condition may be, that his offſpring in their turns will be brought on the ſtage to enjoy their ſhare of the good things ſhe gives.

We do not pretend to alter the courſe of nature, who is in all things wiſe; yet 'tis certain we may by prudence retain for a longer time the bleſſings ſhe beſtows. The temperate man preſerves his health, the cautious man his riches, and the peaceable man his life; in the ſame manner bleſſings may be made to continue a longer period in a family than juſt to appear and vaniſh; the power of education over the mind is very great; 'tis true, wiſdom and abilities are the gift of God, not of man, nor can they be bequeathed or deſcend by inheritance, and in a conſiderable degree are the lot of very few;—but every man has abilities to become ſober, diligent, faithful, friendly, dutiful

dutiful to his parents, a good citizen, and a lover of his country; and these are the virtues that give stability to families, to cities, to nations.—Let us now consider what care and precautions are taken in this important affair in our great cities.

What shall we say for the city of London, that well-balanced constitution? The magistracy seem never to have thought of it; there are indeed some good public schools, but they are the effect of private charities. There is not a more perplexing circumstance to the midling citizens, than the education of their sons, an advantage they are entitled to before the whole world.—Public schools, provided with the very best and most discreet masters, ought to be established in every ward, under the directions of the Alderman and Common Council of that ward, subject to a visitation of the lord Mayor and court of Aldermen.—One great advantage would attend such an education: The children living with their parents, would be always under their eyes; they

would be better maſters of their abilities and inclinations, and even fathers themſelves might be induced to live more regular and exemplary lives, from their affection to their children; for a man muſt be vicious to exceſs indeed, that would be capable of giving his ſon an evil example, nor can any ſect of religion object to it, as that part of their education would depend chiefly on the parents:—It may be objected the city air is bad for children, yet we dont find any illconvenience at Chriſt-Church; nor is it to be ſuppoſed, if ſuch a ſcheme takes place, that conveniencies of air, and room for exerciſe, will be forgot.—The effect of a good education cannot ſhew itſelf more viſibly, than in that noble charity. The ſucceſs of thoſe lads is aſtoniſhing, when compared to the general run of London youth.—Beſides theſe ſchools in the different wards, there ought to be one for finiſhing the youth of the better ſort, in which ſhould be taught all the genteel

arts

arts and exercises, as well as the most solid branches of learning. There is the noble foundation of Gresham College to proceed upon.—Methinks a blush overspreads the face of my fellow citizens at the mention of it.—Shall the little city of Geneva have her schools in such fame as to draw Britons there? shall the sons of her mechanicks come among us with the air of gentlemen, and make us blush at our ignorance?

Shall the bleak mountains of the north for ever send forth her meagre sons, marching on foot with their little bundles and little latin, to become our school-masters and instructors.

In former times the citizens of London were of great repute for the use of arms; our Monarchs encouraged the spirit, gave lands for their exercise, and had the highest degree of confidence in them; there are still some ruins left, enough to make fools laugh, and wise men lament:—in the year 1745, what a figure did the mighty city of London

London make, what terrors, what deſpondence, feebleneſs itſelf could not put on a worſe countenance.—Let us enquire into the reaſon.—After the nation had been ſeized with that fit of fighting and praying, in which the city of London bore a large ſhare, and the paſſion had ſubſided under Charles the ſecond; that indolent and luxurious court, having a moſt wonderful antipathy to that ſpirit of arms in the people, uſed their pointed wit, of which they were great maſters, to render the thing ridiculous which was a cauſe of ſuch a ſlackneſs in the exerciſe, as made it ridiculous indeed; the conſequence was, in the next reign, that people who, a ſhort period before, had roſe up, and ſhook themſelves like a lion, making the nations round tremble, were obliged to a foreign Prince and foreign army to protect their liberties.—The ſame kind of humour has continued ſince, and the militia 'till lately was a ſtanding joke. O ridicule! great is they power, thou haſt

often

often made the good people of England to loſe their underſtanding.

A falſe ridicule ;— " There is great dif-
" ference between ridiculing every thing,
" and finding out what is truely ridiculous,
" and if ridicule is the teſt of gravity,
" gravity is the teſt of ridicule."

Fencing is looked upon as an accompliſhment; it takes up much time to learn ; the uſe of it, is to cut with greater dexterity the throats of your friends and acquaintance ; 'tis of no ſervice in defence of your country, nor has any teacher of that ſcience ever ſignaliſed himſelf as a ſoldier. This is not deſigned to diſgrace ſo genteel an exerciſe for our young gentlemen, but how much more neceſſary for the public, and how much eaſier learnt, is the uſe of arms ;—it may be illconvenient to put arms in the hands of artificers and labourers, but every youth, who has ſufficient ſubſiſtance without manual labour, ought to learn it, and it ought to be made a point of education.

The city of Briſtol, called the ſecond in England, famous for its courage and atchievements in the huſſar kind of marine war, a city of greater riches and ſtrength than many ſovereign Republicks :—ſhall we look there for learning and improvements in the genteel arts?—No ; the hearty inhabitants, with all their well-ſtored tables of good cheer, have never gained the title of polite. Surely it cannot be neceſſary to make a panegyric upon learning and true taſte ; merchants muſt know it is ingenuity ſtamps the value of every thing, nature only furniſhes materials, a bit of iron, a pound of flax, a block of marble, a bit of canvaſs, and a few colours, ſhall become of amazing value, and be ſearched for, from every corner of the world.

Here is the proper application in the ſtudy of the internal policies and wiſe maxims of antient and modern Republicks, here they may be practiſed with ſucceſs, from hence may ariſe a glorious emulation, ſuch as ſet Greece at that envied point of glory,

glory, which we have no reaſon to believe was ever attained to before, and the preſent age with all its inventions falls greatly ſhort of.

CHAP. V.

Landed Gentlemen, and Nobility.

THE landed gentry, whoſe poſſeſſions free them from ſuch temptations as the purſuits of wealth in the merchants, and people below them, are liable to; placed on the borders of Nobility, and partly united to them, are the heads and guardians of the people:——They are elevated enough in their independence, and have leaſure and means to attain the neceſſary knowledge for a Senator; at the ſame time are not ſo far above the people, but they feel their own weight and dignity depends on them, and muſt be greater or

leſs, in proportion as the people are in a condition and inclination to ſupport them; in this rank we ought to expect public ſpirit and virtue to ſhine with luſtre; nor have they diſappointed their country.—The Britiſh Houſe of Commons is the moſt illuſtrious of the rank that ever the world produced, and though corruption has even there at times inſinuated itſelf, that part of it has been but little infected; 'tis true, they have been, and may be, miſled by antient prejudices; may have erred in judgment, but cannot be accuſed of evil deſign.

It were highly to be wiſhed, that ſome better ſchools and methods of education were formed for the ſons of country gentlemen, who, if they are not intended for the Univerſity, are too often neglected.

It would be a very wiſe inſtitution, if evey county town, by the aſſiſtance of the gentlemen of the county, could eſtabliſh a ſchool that ſhould be upon a rank with Weſtminſter or Eaton for learning, and add all the genteel exerciſes to them; this might

might be a means of bringing families to pass a part of their time together in their neighbouring cities, where almost every pleasure and advantage of society would be found as in London, without the expence; by this means wear off the rusticity some of them are charged with, at the same time have an eye over their sons; and every young gentleman, who had passed three years in the public-school, should be an honorary freeman, have a right to a vote for, and enjoy the honours of, the city; by this means would be united powerful members, whose affectionate attention might be of infinite service to the community.—Another good effect would be, the honest friendships formed by youth, neglecting party and faction, drawn only by similitude of minds and dispositions; how often has it happened, when, by accident, two people have become acquainted with each others good qualities, they have cursed the ridiculous prejudices and nursery antipathy which have kept them so long

aſunder.—Again, the aſſociating ſpirit of man acts weakly when it has too great a latitude and extent; an army is divided into ſeveral commands; thoſe into regiments, battalions, and companies; a ſoldier loves his own company before any other in the ſame regiment, and his own regiment before any other; and the whole corps, aſſociated under the ſame command, has its preference, and feels in proportion to the diſtance; yet the paſſion and concern for the whole is by no means diminiſhed; on the contrary, is greatly ſtrengthened, for was it not for theſe diviſions, the paſſion itſelf would be loſt in the croud, or ſpent on two or three aſſociates. In the ſame manner, a civil ſociety, by being divided and reduced into ſuch parts, where the connexion is more viſible and intereſting, will certainly ſtrengthen the friendly and aſſociating paſſions.—Let a ſet of men once begin a laudable and good enterprize, the farther they advance, the more will their

their affections towards it, and to each other, increaſe.

This rank of independent men, whoſe duty it is to think for, and direct the buſy and laborious below them, who in return labour and toil for their eaſe and accommodation, ſhould be careful to preſerve among them the ſcience of arms and war. For though there ſhould be multitudes of able men, without ſcience they are nothing; like materials for an edifice, a heap of confuſion, 'till the workman, by his art, reduces every thing to order, harmony and uſe.—Science is the parent of ſtrength, and ſtrength of courage; examine throughout nature, you ſee every animal has courage proportionate to its powers; man has the ſame; when he knows the danger, and the means in his power to face and overcome it, he acts with becoming conſtancy and reſolution. Fear naturally enlarges every object, and ignorance confirms the deception and terrors; how many men, armies, and

nations, have been loſt by ignorance, the father of irreſolution and timidity.

An army is of the ſame nature as the individuals which compoſe it; an opinion of their own ſkill, an opinion in their leader, will encourage them to undertake freely the boldeſt enterpriſes; let them once be checked, and leſſen their confidence, they become another thing; nay the paſſions of a multitude, as courage, fear, rage, generally go by extreams.——We have been ſo happy in cultivating our naval ſcience as to take the lead of the whole world; nor are we behind the foremoſt in ſcience of arms and artillery in the field. Let every man, whoſe condition will admit of it, promote all proper means that they may be continued in full vigor. We have one great happineſs, the people of our iſlands are naturally bold and warlike, from the nature of the climate, the liberty they enjoy, or perhaps from the breed itſelf; for they have ever been ſo.—The Nobility of Great Britain, who border on the rank

of

of Princes, and have prince-like poſſeſſions, form a part of the conſtitution of the greateſt dignity, and give beauty and ſtrength to the ſtructure; they are the pillars of the State;—when met in parliament, they form an aſſembly, which, for dignity and abilities of its members, is not to be paralleled in this age, whatever antiquity may boaſt.

They are the guardians of the laws, and form the ultimate court of juſtice; at the ſame time, are the ornament and ſecurity of the throne.—The people are ſubject to violent paſſions and commotions; like the ſea by the winds, ſo are they troubled by fears and jealouſies, nor can the ſea be more violent than an enraged people; and what is more, they delight in being moved. How greedily do they devour the means of their own deſtruction!

There requires more than one bulwark to ſecure the public and their own liberties from that deſtruction which has more than

once threatened from their violence. Their own repreſentatives are obliged to yield to their impetuoſity, often catch the flame, and have ſometimes been promoters of it. How happy is it there ſhould remain a part of the conſtitution not ſubject to the general frenzy, with ſufficient power and dignity to put ſome ſtop to its courſe!

CHAP. VI.

Clergy and Religion.

THE Clergy of England do not form any diſtinct part of the conſtitution; the inferior vote with the Commons for their repreſentatives, and the Metropolitans ſit with the Nobles. Yet there ſtill remain eccleſiaſtical courts, with a power, which, though brought under, is far from being dead, and may one day revive and become terrible as before. In theſe courts, where the

the canon and civil laws determine, the power lies in the breaſt of the Judges; the privilege of being tried by a jury of equals, has no place there:—you are expoſed to the mercy of the court, and what eccleſiaſtical mercy is, let thoſe who have experienced it explain.—The privivilege of aſſembling in convocation, forming rules and orders for the regulation of religion, depends upon the permiſſion of the crown; and as alterations, or any diſturbance in religious matters, have ever a connexion with the civil government, the crown has been very cautious in that article, and wiſely ſtopt the enterpriſes of the buſy ſpirits.

As the words Enthuſiaſm and Superſtition may frequently occur, 'tis neceſſary to fix our meaning. Enthuſiaſm is that active ſpirit, which carries us on to the enterprize of ſomething, which we take for great, good, or beautiful; from an affection to the objects themſelves, or from an idea or imagination of the inſpiration

of ſome ſuperior beneficent being.—Superſtition is that ſpirit of timidity and fear, which is cauſed by contemplation of the diſaſters, evils and miſeries, which we are ſubject to; not from nature only, but the afflicting hands of ſuperior beings, who threat us with eternal fury and tortures.

The Chriſtian Religion diſclaimed at its firſt ſetting out all kind of civil juriſdiction; it was the doctrine of peace, love, forbearance, patience, reſignation; a pure ſtream flowed from a pure fountain; it's rewards were indeed great and new, an eternal, happy and bleſſed life, an object ſufficient to raiſe the attention and move the paſſions of mankind, eſpecially as at that time the Roman power had reduced great part of the world, which they held in ſuch ſevere ſubjection, as to give but little hopes, or expectations, in this life, from ſuch a ſtate of ſlavery; beſides, the corruption and iniquity, attending ſuch unbounded power, prepared mankind, who were groaning under it, for a reformation,

or

or ſome change. The ſlave was glad of a doctrine, which made him in a manner equal to his maſter; and it was happy for the maſter to be curbed, in the licentious uſe of his power, by the hopes and fears of a future condition; for the Chriſtian Religion held forth, and threatened with, puniſhments equal to its rewards.—The Chriſtian, ſo far from attempting dominion and rule, almoſt diſclaimed any connexion with this life, which was only eſteemed a pilgrimage or paſſage to the other; nor was it deſigned to be made uſe of as an inſtrument in the hands of the magiſtrate, much leſs that its teachers ſhould be magiſtrates. But Religion being a paſſion of the ſocial kind, as partners in one common united good, the aſſociations it muſt neceſſarily form, with the great authority of the leaders, muſt ever attract the attention of the government, as big with revolution, be the profeſſion as pacific as may be; nor did the Chriſtians in early times eſcape being charged with fomenting comotions, which

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was the reaſon given for their perſecution, and this perſecution was of great ſervice. Death, the worſt of human puniſhments, was to them the way to life, an inlet to all they ſigh'd after; it ſtrengthened the bond of union, every thing was intereſting, all the paſſions were at the ſtretch, and faith rode triumphant; every ſpectator was touched, and a ſweet Enthuſiaſm ſtole on their hearts.

Experience at laſt taught, that the generous paſſion of Religion, a paſſion in which men boaſt, was not to be treated like thoſe of an inferior and baſe kind; which, though men are too fond of indulging, yet are kept ſecret under the guardianſhip of ſhame; 'tis for theſe were invented whips, brands and gibbets.

The Chriſtian Religion by degrees grew to ſuch a head, that it was policy in the government to embrace it, recommended as it was by its doctrine of humility and obedience to Princes; nor in the worſt ſtate

of

of corruption, have they attempted openly to wreſt the ſword from the magiſtrate.

The whole ſyſtem of that amazing power, which that political body of prieſthood, the church of Rome, have ever enjoyed, has been founded on ſpiritual dominion only; or that influence they are ſuppoſed to have on the future condition of men. So that where-ever the chriſtian prieſthood have a ſovereignty, they have been inveſted with it by Monarchs; and where they have, the people under their government have been extreamly miſerable, at leaſt in Europe; nor ought entire credit to be given to the tales the Jeſuits have told of the wonders done in America.

To purſue the ſteps by which that aſtoniſhing power was raiſed, and is preſerved over men, would be to enter into all the paſſions of the human heart, and mind, with their dependence on the body;—not the novices only are diſciplined and fed, but you ſee a whole people dieted; the whole

fabrick

fabrick of human nature has been thoroughly ſtudied ;--reaſon has been baniſhed, and the imagination made governor.—The whole appears a moſt ſtrange faſcination. Notwithſtanding all theſe precautions and helps, the groſſer vices introducing themſelves, men fell back ; the Enthuſiaſm flagged, a dark Superſtition took place, and the whole ſyſtem had long ſince been aboliſhed, had there not been found means to make that ſpirit of reformation, which grows out of the exceſs of every thing, a means to preſerve it. The founders of thoſe different orders we ſee, were ſo many reformers, reſtorers of antient diſcipline and ſeverity of manners. Inſtead of oppoſing this ſpirit, the Pope, as father of the church, indulges their genius, conſents to their eſtabliſhment, as miſſionaries more immediately dependent on the papacy, without laying any freſh obligation on the other branches of his family ;—Theſe new apoſtles go about the world in the ſpirit of reformation ; their lives are auſtere, their

enthuſiaſm

enthuſiaſm great, their preaching powerful, integrity unblemiſhed, doing and exhorting to charity and godlineſs, aſſimulating together the floating humours of the ſame kind;—at laſt a ſociety is formed, foundations and convents are raiſed; the ſpirit flags; corruption ſteals in, and they are loſt in the common maſs; another and another ariſes and does the ſame, till at laſt the world was ſo full of theſe corrupted ſocieties, who feaſted upon the labours of the induſtrious, that they became the greateſt evil of all.—But the principal pillar which ſupports the edifice, is confeſſion and abſolution. Was the prieſthood uncorruptible, was there a ſecurity of of the prieſts being always wiſe and pious, it could ſcarce be defended; but when the prieſthood is corrupt, as experience ſhews it may, how great is the evil;—nature has placed as a guard to innocence, ignorance of evil, and ſhame at its appearance. The laſt is ſo ſtrong that the church has thought it neceſſary to begin confeſſion at ſeven years

years of age; the innocent learns to diſcloſe every motion of the heart, and loſes by degrees that delicate ſenſe of ſhame, the beſt guard to virtue, except ignorance of vice; but how far that virtuous ignorance is ſtained, let any one judge, by thoſe queſtions that occur, in what is called ſifting and examining the conſcience.

How great muſt the power be of thoſe who are maſters of the ſecrets of a whole people, armed with the inviſible terrors of ſuperſtition, and poſſeſſed of immenſe property; ſo far from wondering at the prieſtly power, we may wonder it was ſo moderate; for every believing Prince was their creature, and the unbelievers were awed by the believing people; a ſlavery of the very worſt kind, which for a long time every wiſe Prince had ſtruggled with in vain; till at laſt a remedy grew out of itſelf.—The world had contented itſelf with one infallible, but three oppoſing infallibles were too much.

And

And a Pontiff, who had a taſte for letters, gave the firſt encouragement to learning and the arts, the bane of ſuperſtition, which, ſapping the foundation, made way, upon ſome ſucceeding enormities, for that reformation which ſet mankind once more at liberty. But a fabrick of ſuch ſtrength was not to be deſtroyed at once, a new enthuſiaſt and diſciplinarian aroſe, who, though a man of no letters, planned a ſociety of learning, who, in the ſpirit of their founders, ſtood the champions of the tottering Hierarchy, and by their zeal made amends in ſome meaſure to the church by their ſpiritual conqueſts in the Eaſt and Weſt Indies for its loſs in Europe.

The church of England, though reformed from the groſs abuſes of the church of Rome, and is a creature of the legiſlature, yet ſtill retains ſome ſhare of, and ſtrong affection for, antient eccleſiaſtical power, a paſſion as natural to ſocieties as individuals, nor is there a ſect without it; but the fatal effects of having two powers capable of

of contending in the ſame ſociety having been fully experienced, we may hope the civil government will never more admit of a rival.

And certainly the underſtanding of man is ſufficient for the affairs of man, and is equal to the conducting of ſocieties, and even religion as far as it relates to ſocieties; the buſineſs of the divine is to reform the manners and awe the violent nature of man by religion; by that means aſſiſting the magiſtrate in preſerving peace and order among the people.

The clergy of the church of England having (to defend themſelves on one ſide from the ſuperſtitions of Rome, and on the other from the violent enthuſiaſm of new reformers, which conſtantly ariſe) been pruned as it were at both extreams, have formed, in their writings, the beſt body of divinity and morals that the world has produced, but reaſon is too cool to influence the bulk of mankind.

From

From childhood to old age we delight in having our paſſions moved, our hopes, our fears, only varying the objects; thus the cool reaſonable ſyſtem may delight the wiſe, yet the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, and ſuperſtition muſt take its courſe; mankind will at all events be enraptured and terified, nor are the effects of enthuſiaſm by any means nocent when left to their own courſe. For every new reformer muſt ſet out with the ſtricteſt purity of morals, and perhaps, their pretenſions to that, is often a cauſe of their being hated; for mankind are not very willing to allow ſuperior virtue to their neighbours, and preſently cry out, hypocrite and impoſtor:——but, for the puſilanimous ſpirit of ſuperſtition, where the inſtillers of that fatal poiſon are ſo induſtrious, the cure is difficult indeed; the only remedy for ſuch an unhappy diſeaſe of mind, founded on ignorance and melancholy, is learning and good humour. They are truly objects of compaſſion; but it highly concerns the government, to watch

over, and prevent as much as poſſible, the growth of the diſeaſe.—The number of children ſent out to foreign ſeminaries, for the Romiſh prieſthood, is very conſiderable.

CHAP VII.

Monarchy.

THE laſt part of the Britiſh conſtitution, which remains to be treated of, is the ſovereign executive power in royal majeſty.—Our northern ſyſtem of government originally, however the branches of power might be divided, all proceeded from, and ultimately depended on, the kingly office; and as great as the changes have been in Britain, and the pannick that at one time ſeiſed the people of England againſt Monarchy, experience has ſhewn, it is ſuch a part of the conſtitution, it cannot ſubſiſt without, it ſtill remains the cen-

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ter that holds the fabrick together, and the ſcheme of deſtroying Monarchy, by the commons, was weak and ungrateful.—The power of a King muſt ſubſiſt ſomewhere. How will the great, how can they divide it among themſelves, in ſuch a country as Britain? with whom muſt it be depoſited? a door of confuſion was, and muſt be opened, by which tyranny did, and muſt ever enter; and if the great among whom it muſt fall cannot be gainers, what muſt be the caſe of the lower people? the King is their immediate guardian and protector; he ſtands with the ſcales of juſtice in his hands, between the different ranks of men, and prevents oppreſſion; let the common people open their eyes, and ſee if they can find any Republick, antient or modern, in which their rank enjoyed ſuch ſolid ſecurity, independance, and liberty.—How miſerably blind muſt they then be, when they ſuffer themſelves to be hallood on like hounds, to bait that power, by whoſe protection and aid, even this noiſy privilege

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is preſerved to them ;—ungrateful too: for who, pray, drew the Commons from that ſtate of ſlavery and ſervile dependence on the Nobles, but our wiſe Monarchs.—Let us preſerve their memory with reverence; and with reverence let us ever think and ſpeak of Majeſty.

On the other hand, the increaſing of Royal Power, beyond its juſt bounds, is equally full of evil; and what can it ſerve? Has not Majeſty enough to give? or, is it wanted to ſcreen the ſlave who promotes it, from the juſtice of the laws:—when once the balance is deſtroyed, and the laws loſe their force, the King is equally unſafe. A Monarch of Great Britain has a moſt peculiar advantage, even in having his power bounded by laws.--A weak Prince can never benefit himſelf, any more than his vaſſals, by deſpotiſm; the more unlimited his power, the greater the danger to himſelf and people. A wiſe Prince, who ſees himſelf maſter of the lives of the numerous race of abject ſlaves, and great extent of territory, ſees

with

with regret the inhabitants of a deſpicable ſpot, by their arts and policies, capable of making head againſt, and baffling his enterpriſes: he knows his power is bounded by the abilities of his people; he ſtudies to give them the ſpirit of labour and emulation, he cultivates the arts; he ſtrives with induſtry to leſſen his own power, and make ſubjects of ſlaves; but experience ſhews how difficult and laborious the taſk, for by degrees are men made capable of liberty, as by degrees they are brought to ſubmit to ſlavery, though unhappily this laſt is much the eaſier taſk. Men, like flowers taken from the field, require a conſtant attendance and care to preſerve them from returning to their wild nature: or, as the earth on which they live, and the fruits on which they feed, fall to barrenneſs and unwholeſome produce by neglect; ſo do men and ſocieties fall, without a conſtant care, into ignorance, barbarity, and ſlavery. How happy then is the Britiſh Monarch, the head of a mighty and free people,

who, with the ſtrength, vigor, and enthuſiaſm of liberty, lift him to the higheſt pinnacle of glory; what a choice of able and great men preſent themſelves; let the King rejoice in their honour, for all centers in him. And it is in his breaſt, to produce them in action, and give them in turns an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing themſelves.

As the conſtitution of Great Britain is founded upon the juſteſt obſervations of nature, it is therefore more likely to retain its vigor, and have a longer duration then any yet formed.

Lacedemon was a ſtrain upon nature; Rome was an aſſembly of violent humours, that were with difficulty kept together by common danger; Carthage, and many others, were loſt by a jealouſy of, and contention about, the ſupreme power, which in Britain is happily fixed.—The admirable virtue of love of country, which ſo often ſhone forth in thoſe Republicks, with the moſt noble Enthuſiaſm, has with us conſtant

ſtant opportunities of ſignaliſing itſelf; nor has it ſhone in Britain with diminiſhed glory.

That balance of power, and check upon the paſſions (which is like the human frame, whoſe powers of motion have each its oppoſing balancing power) may ſometimes impede our activity; but the firſt thing neceſſary is maturity of council, without that, activity is too often deſtructive.—A more ſimple form of government may advance more rapidly to its full growth and maturity, but with us the Enthuſiaſm of one branch is checked by the prudent coolneſs of the other; extreams are avoided, and though the growth may be held back, it gives time to gain ſtrength and conſiſtency as it advances.

BOOK the THIRD.

Trade, Luxury, and Population.

CHAP. I.

Trade,---in General.

THE laſt things to be conſidered of are Trade, Luxury, and Population. Three things of the utmoſt importance in every ſtate, and which have a ſtrong effect and action upon each other.

The powers of Man, as an individual, are very confined; very few underſtandings are capable of any tolerable perfection in more than one ſcience, or branch of knowledge.—The moſt ingenious, at the ſame time the moſt active of the ſpecie, was he to attempt, by his own labour alone, to procure the neceſſaries of life would find himſelf in a worſe condition than the loweſt

loweſt member of any tolerable ſociety; but a midling capacity, applyed to one ſubject, may comprehend it thoroughly; and the application of a ſmall force of bodily labour, to one ſingle object, will make a wonderful diſpatch; thus the branches of ſcience and labour, being divided out among a multitude, each clubbing his own particular excellence, forms that maſs of uſeful and neceſſary things in which conſiſts the convenience and welfare of ſociety;—and the communicating theſe benefits, ſo that each individual may be ſupplied by mutual exchanges, is trade, and thoſe concerned in that buſineſs are traders or merchants; theſe traders, by their buſineſs of exchanging, accumulate the ſurplus that remains more than is conſumed, by which means, magazines are formed of all uſeful things, ſo that, though the trader becomes rich by the labour of others, he is a moſt uſeful man, for by his care are collected together what conſtitutes the riches of a country. The greater the number of contributors,

and the greater the variety and produce of the ſoil, from whence proceed the materials, the greater will be the trade. If a country is of great extent, and full of people, the trade or exchange among themſelves muſt be in proportion, unleſs it ſhould be parcelled out in provinces, whoſe ſeparate governments and laws ſhould impede it, as in Spain.

Suppoſe England to contain ſeven millions of people, whoſe annual conſumption is ſeventy millions, by the ſeparation of labour before it can be aſſorted and collected for the conſumer, it is at leaſt bought and ſold three times, which makes a return of two hundred and ten millions in trade. And the union of Great Britain will be productive of more riches than any foreign trade could give us.—Suppoſing Scotland at two millions and half, from the advances they daily make in induſtry and riches, we may allow their expence annually in no very long time may amount to ſix pounds each, which is fifteen millions, which, ſold three times, is forty five millions, great part of which will be

be exchanged backwards and forwards with England.

Riches are of two kinds, such as are actually in being, or stock, and the mine from whence they are drawn, which mine is the labour and ingenuity of the people; with a little frugality, the united labour of Great Britain is capable, in a short period, to create a new stock for themselves and half Europe.—All this reasoning naturally leads us to the consideration of Ireland, a country of the utmost importance, and which, very unhappily for both kingdoms, there has been no effectual method found out for conciliating and uniting of interests. The people of Ireland are free, but the country is in subjection; one born in Britain going to reside in Ireland, is in the same condition of one born in Ireland; and one born in Ireland, residing in England, has every British privilege; the subjection is upon the Terra Firma. Poor unhappy land! is it the stain of British blood shed on thee, not yet washed off? is it resentment, is it ignorance, or jealousy,

that is the cauſe of thy bonds? Whatever may be the reaſon, the ſetting thee free, and making a ſiſter and partner inſtead of a ſervant, is of more conſequence, and will add more ſolid ſtrength and true riches to the Britiſh ſyſtem than the conqueſt of the Indies; ſo far from wanting, we ſhall be puzzled how to get rid of our ſuperfluities to keep up a circulation; and inſtead of fearing a war, it may be often neceſſary to provoke a war, to employ the people, and diſſipate the too great abundance.

The trade of Great Britain widely differs from the trade of thoſe Republicks or Cities who have as yet made the greateſt figure in merchandize; they were only the mediators, buyers and ſellers of the produce and labour of other countries; they had reaſon to be jealous and watchful; but Britain, from her own bowels, produces the materials, and her own labour finiſhes the work, for her own uſe, and the uſe of foreign nations.

Although jealouſy might be one reaſon, yet there was another for keeping Ireland low;

low; which was fear.—There are at preſent three ſorts of people; the original Iriſh, who value themſelves on family and antiquity; the Engliſh families, who ſettled there from the time of Strongbow to the Reformation, ſome of whom have changed their names to Iriſh, and who are in effect all of them become Iriſh, and are, as Roman Catholicks, on the ſame footing, though the antient Iriſh conſider them as new people; the other are the Proteſtants, ſettled ſince the Reformation, and Converts, who are now poſſeſſors of the greateſt part of the lands, in conſequence of laws eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe; but what trade there is, is chiefly in the hands of the Roman Catholicks, deſcendents from Engliſh families, who are more induſtrious and leſs enterpriſing than the antient Iriſh; beſides the benefits of trade create a peaceable ſpirit.

After King William had re-eſtabliſhed affairs in Ireland, for a long time the Roman Catholicks were vaſtly more numerous than the Proteſtants, which made every pre-

caution neceſſary. But ſo great has been the ſucceſs in introducing the Proteſtant Religion, that at preſent about one third are ſuch; the other two thirds are ſuppoſed to be in numbers pretty equally divided by the antient and new Iriſh.—Undoubtedly all poſſible care ſhould be taken to increaſe the number of Proteſtants, and the ſchools eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe are admirable; but a union, upon an equitable footing, might be made a means to give in a ſmall time a majority.—For the introducing arts, induſtry, and a more general commerce, would draw there many ſtrangers, in which the Romiſh Religion might be excluded; and if that ſtream of people to America, which drains us as well as Germany, could be diverted into Ireland 'till the country was full, their labour and aſſiſtance at home would be of more ſolid uſe and ſtrength, than when ſcattered at ſuch a diſtance; for the benefits ariſing from ſociety are in proportion to the vicinity of the people which compoſe it.—Let us try

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at ſome calculation in reſpect to the conſequence in trade.—Suppoſe Ireland at three millions of people, whoſe annual expence amounts to fifteen milions; as multitudes of theſe live on roots and fiſh, the immediate produce of their own labour, and make themſelves their own cloathing, we cannot ſuppoſe upon the whole, that, of the fifteen millions conſumed, ſo much of it can be circulated as to make the returns in trade more than double, that is thirty millions.—Ireland can well ſupport five millions; ſuppoſe them induſtrious, laborious, and living, as in England, at an expence of ten pounds each, makes fifty millions, which, returned three times, as in England, makes a circulation of one hundred and fifty millions, and will give a proportional opportunity of ſavings.—And to forward ſuch a laudable ſcheme of commerce, every great City, in Britain as well as Ireland, ſhould eſtabliſh a bank upon the moſt ſolid ſecurity ſuch City could give. This may

frighten ſome people, who will be ready to ſay, all our wealth will become paper; let us examine the thing by a matter of private hiſtory and known fact; Sir Ambroſe Crawley, after infinite difficulties, at laſt eſtabliſhed his credit ſo far as to make current a piece of ſtampt leather for money; with this he paid his workmen and it paſſed as money among the neighbouring ſhopkeepers. The fabricks got together by this means were ſold to profit, till his capital increaſed, and he had no farther neceſſity of ſuch aſſiſtance; thus he transformed artificial money to real gold.—As the two iſlands would become by this means one Kingdom, the objects of mutual trade would be very great, merchandize would circulate backwards and forwards, in the manner as the northern and weſtern parts of England; the intercourſe by ſea and ſhiping would be greatly increaſed, and every ſhop in each Country would be furniſhed with the manufactures of both.—Beſides, what makes ſuch a union not only deſirable, but abſolutely neceſſary,

neceſſary, is the amazing growth of the Britiſh Colonies; for the root and body muſt be equal to the branches; and the baſe equal to the ſuperſtructure, or ruin will enſue. The two iſlands, formed into one compleat compact Empire, well filled with people, will form the greateſt nation of free-men that ever ſubſiſted; and the Britiſh ſyſtem is undoubtedly the beſt and ſtrongeſt now ſubſiſting, formed for increaſe, and ſpreading the bleſſings of liberty;—ſo far from the ſcourge and deſtroyer of mankind, it has already planted the ſeed of mighty nations of free people in the new-found America, to keep up an eternal memorial.

Having now ſhewn the expediency and even neceſſity of ſuch union, let us conſider how it may be accompliſhed.—There are two ſorts of land-holders in Ireland; the leaſer who has let his lands for a long time, at an eaſy rent, and the leſſee who has improved them and made them more valuable, and who, from the general improvements

ments in life, and the conſtant decreaſing value of gold and ſilver, has a better and more valuable property in them, than the original proprietor; the firſt of theſe are adverſe to a union, expecting one conſequence will be a land tax, which they expect to fall on them with all its weight, according to the leaſe; at the ſame time, during ſuch leaſe, they will not be benefited by any increaſe in the value of lands in conſequence of additional trade, the whole being the advantage of the tenant; the tenant thinks it unreaſonable to pay a tax upon improvements, and ſets forth the general evil conſequence, and hindrance of induſtry by ſuch a ſcheme.—The firſt of theſe gentlemen have ſome reaſon; they have parted already with half the value of their lands, and it behoves them to take care of what remains; nor ought they to bear an unequal burthen;—the latter gentlemen are miſtaken in putting to the account of their own expence and labour only the advanced value of rents; examine the price

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of an Ox or of Corn from period to period, on which the value of land depends, and ſee what ſhare their induſtry has had on ſuch advance; by their care they may have produced more corn and cattle; but the natural conſequence of plenty is lowneſs of price, therefore that reaſon is vain; or if it was entirely the price of labour, they ought to contribute, or elſe find out what riches are not the price of labour;—but both theſe ſorts of proprietors ought to be eaſed of their fears, and proper time muſt be given, and the burthen muſt be laid on by degrees in proportion to the increaſe of ſtrength.

It is not a ſmall matter to introduce arts, and accuſtom a people to labour.—This point of indulgence is a principal difficulty with the great; yet, when we conſider the millions Britain is frequently ſpending for a remote, and perhaps uncertain good, one would think, for a good ſo near, ſo ſubſtantial, ſo certain, there ſhould not be any unſurmountable difficulties about the purchaſe.

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The trading people muſt be for it in point of intereſt, which they religiouſly purſue; as for the very common people and mob, there is no reaſoning with them; every thing that is new, good or bad, they equally oppoſe, but as one principal end is their benefit, it is to be hoped they may be made ſenſible of it by their ſuperiors.—The Metropolis ſeems the moſt likely to ſuffer, by the loſs of a Parliament, notwithſtanding all the courts of juſtice, and every general buſineſs of the nation will ſtill center there; there are two reaſons for the increaſe of a Metropolis, one its being the rendezvous of the great, the gay, and luxurious; the other, its being the center of commerce.—Dublin is at preſent one of the moſt agreeable Cities in Europe; let the gentlemen make a point of encouraging every genteel art and ſcience, and value themſelves upon the knowlege of the uſeful in ſociety; and Dublin will become one of the moſt delightful Cities in the world.—A center of commerce there muſt be in all countries, which

which will by this means be in Ireland of moſt amazing conſequence; let there be a royal Bank eſtabliſhed, on the ſame footing as in London, with a transferable ſtock, and; as one conſequence of this union and communion of trade will greatly increaſe the capital in Ireland, books of transfer ſhould be kept at the royal Bank in Dublin for all ſuch capital ſtock of whatever kind the people of Ireland ſhould be poſſeſſed of, and the dividends payed there; by which means the wealth of the country would be drawn together in a moſt effectual manner; and where the wealth is, there will be the circulation. And the manufactures will be gathered together, like the blood to the heart, to diſperſe again in proper quantities and ſorts to the remoteſt corners; thoſe citieswhich, at preſent, flouriſh by the exportation of proviſions will, in that article, ſuffer, as the increaſe of people will probably conſume the whole.

In their legiſlative capacity, the Iriſh will be able to do more than ever for their country;

country ; Ireland muſt have a great ſway, and the ſons of Ireland will ſhare in all valuable and honourable employments.

As for the number of repreſentatives for the people, the calculation for Scotland cannot ſerve ; 'tis not the preſent moment is regarded. Let the value of the lands be eſtimated, and let the number be proportioned to that; ſuppoſe two for each County, four for the Capital, two for Cork, and one for each other conſiderable City.

This may at firſt be thought too much, and giving too great a weight ; but we ſhould conſider a few will always confederate, be for ever making terms for their own private advantage, which can never be, where there is a number, whoſe different intereſts will always prevent their uniting, except on the moſt preſſing occaſions; beſides, there will, by this means, be added a conſiderable ſtrength to the ſounder and more ſecure party in the Houſe of Commons.

For

For in thoſe decayed towns, where there remains no other ſign of importance but the electing of members, we all know their intereſt is ſold to the beſt bidder; this is an evil long complained of, without a remedy being found; the court has been ſuppoſed to have protected them, and when its meaſures are contrary to the general inclination of the people, they are of uſe; but this method of governing by ſubterfuges, has this ill-convenience. Theſe adventurers know their importance, will have their ſhare, and often by their cabals keep their leaders in awe, inſomuch that an ambitious man of that kind cannot become rich.—Beſides a rich faction may poſſeſs themſelves of thoſe places, and inſtead of being governed by, may govern the court; now by an addition of Members choſen from counties, and large cities, it will ſtrengthen the ſounder part, and add to the faſces a number of ſtrong rods.—As for the Nobility, that ſeems to be the immediate buſineſs of the Crown.

The

The North Britons may complain of the advantageous terms given to Ireland in point of number in the legiſlature; as they have long enjoyed the benefit of the union, are become much richer, and lands doubled in value, and every day growing in wealth, let the increaſe of their ſhare in the contributions, and ſhare in the legiſlature, go hand in hand.

CHAP. II.

Foreign Trade,---beyond the Seas.

WE now come to the ſecond branch, which is Foreign Trade, and this is of two kinds, with our own colonies, and with independent nations. The trade with our own colonies, though at a diſtance and carried on by navigation, is yet a kind of home trade, as it conſiſts of a mutual exchange

exchange among our own people, and may be regulated among ourſelves. As the colonies are in various climates and of various productions, it may be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of each.—On one ſide we ſee a country abounding with all neceſſaries, and filling with people at an amazing rate; as Penſylvania, New England, New York. The produce of theſe countries is nearly the ſame as Britain, conſequently the objects of commerce are few, they have but few things to ſend home, and all the profits of the trade they make, with proviſions, lumber and fiſh, to any part of America or Europe, center in Britain; for tho' neceſſity obliges them to manufacture many things; yet the fondneſs, or perhaps neceſſity, for foreign goods is ſuch, that they cannot keep ſilver for the coinage of the ſmalleſt money. There are many who are jealous even of theſe poor people fabricating any thing, they cry out they will be independent, and rival their mother country.

In the firſt place, unleſs we make them a preſent of their cloathing, they muſt manufacture in part or go naked.—That by degrees they will probably become a great people is far from an evil;—while the Britiſh conſtitution remains ſound, the ſtrength of theſe people will be ſo much additional ſtrength to Britain, as furniſhing a new reſource of men and materials for war.—If the Britiſh conſtitution ſhould corrupt and fall to ruin, as all others have done, 'twill be a happineſs to mankind, that its colonies, its children grown to maturity, ſhould not be involved in the ſame deſtruction, but inherit by ſucceſſion the bleſſings of liberty:—there is nothing but common and imminent danger, or violent oppreſſion, can make them unite, unleſs the climate of America ſhould alter human nature,—for every colony will be jealous of its neighbour, and the great difficulty, as they grow ſtrong, will be to keep peace among them.

At preſent the article of proviſions is a kind of rival trade with Great Britain and Ireland, but it may become of the greateſt importance to both, and the ſubſiſtence of the Sugar Iſlands almoſt entirely depends on it.

The fiſhery of Newfoundland is a very great article of commerce; with us it is almoſt entirely a foreign trade, for, except a ſmall matter of refuſe ſent to the Sugar Iſlands, and a little the Americans conſume themſelves, the whole is ſold to foreign nations, the people of England for the moſt part not knowing what bacallho is;—but to ſuppoſe the trade, if the French are entirely excluded, will equal what both nations carried on, muſt be a miſtake; for, as the principal conſumption of the French catching was among themſelves, they will certainly find ſome other food, or perhaps fiſhery. But the chief value of this trade being the employment of ſeamen for the uſe of the navy, the preventing the French will in that article greatly diſtreſs them.

The iſland of Newfoundland is admirably ſituated for a maritime power, as it commands the entrance from the ocean into the prodigious river of St. Lawrence.

That vaſt extent of territory diſtinguiſhed by the name of Canada, having been ſo ſmall a time in our poſſeſſion, there cannot be as yet a ſufficient knowlege of it; but it appears much ſuch a country as our Northern Colonies, though the river-navigation, with the Lakes, extending from North to South, may afford, from its fruitful ſhores, ſuch a variety of produce, as ſhall give riſe to the moſt extraordinary inland commerce the world ever knew. As we advance ſouthward, Maryland and Virginia furniſh, in Tobacco, an excellent article of commerce; the uſe of which is a luxury daily increaſing, from the agreeable amuſement its gentle and innocent intoxication affords.—Here begins the general uſe of Negro Slaves, firſt introduced by neceſſity; but as the number of white people increaſes greatly, and begin to want employment,

it

it is an affair of the higheſt importance to give them encouragement, and to ſtop the farther introduction of ſlaves. This has been attempted ſeveral times by ſome patriots without ſucceſs, private advantage having as yet prevented the great in thoſe parts from ſeeing the diſparity between a free man and a ſlave;—the ſmall matter with which a ſlave is kept, is the delight of his covetous maſter; but where a free European can labour and preſerve his health and ſtrength, the difference and labour between him and a ſlave will make up for the different expence of maintenance: the cuſtom of treating and governing of ſlaves introduces a tyrannical and barbarous diſpoſition, and cruelty becomes familiar.—The firſt thing children learn, is to inſult and chaſtiſe; and they have a child ſlave given to exerciſe themſelves upon.—Though black ſlaves in the Southern Colonies, eſpecially in the beginning, may be neceſſary; yet all poſſible meaſures ought to be uſed to encourage our own peo-

 ple,

ple, and render them uſeleſs, as ſoon as poſſible, and it may be done by degrees on the continent.

Carolina is a country that produces an amazing plenty of every thing: what quantities of Rice, what Indigo, any thing they will lend their attention to;—the labour is done by Negroes, and it was found by experience, in that Southern Climate, that the labour of the few Europeans who went over was not ſufficient to overcome the firſt difficulties. But their Indian wars, it is hoped, will have this good conſequence, to encourage as much as poſſible the breed and labour of white people; for in their numbers conſiſts the public ſecurity, not from the Indians only, but the ſlaves themſelves.—The advantage of commerce to and from theſe Countries to Britain is ſo evident, it is needleſs to enter into the detail.

The important article of the Sugar Iſlands, made ſo by the continual increaſe of that new luxury, by which the labour of the Bee,

Bee, which afforded the dainties of our anceſtors, has been rendered almoſt uſeleſs. And ſo powerful is the cuſtom grown that we now conſider Sugar as a thing neceſſary, and which we cannot do without; ſo that, if we had it not of our own produce, we muſt purchaſe it of our neighbours who had; from the great conqueſts in thoſe parts, we have, beſides, a ſurplus for an article of exportation.

A valuable trade is the produce of the Sugar-cane without doubt; many delicious meats and comfortable drinks do we enjoy from that quarter; beſides, by ſelling it to our neighbours, we drain them of ſo much caſh.—Yet there is a moſt ſerious conſequence attending this commerce. The uſe that Phyſicians make of this ſalubrious juice in Europe, cannot anſwer for the deſtruction the producing it creates; near one third of the people employed in a ſlave voyage die, or are rendered uſeleſs, beſides the great numbers that die in their bloom or return cripples. The number annually

in time of peace, before extended as they are now, amounted to many thouſand, of ſo terrible a depopulating nature is that trade, while the landed proprietors are very little attentive to the breeding of white families, though they live in conſtant terror from the Slaves who are from 6 and 10 to one, except in Barbadoes, which was originally divided into ſmall eſtates.—There the proportion is about 4 to 1; and that is the only iſland which has not put the government to the expence of troops, even in times of peace, for ſecurity againſt the ſlaves.—If the Malottas, and the mixed breed, which are the hardieſt people, were allowed a certain degree of liberty, to ſeparate them entirely from the Black Slaves, it would be a great additional ſecurity.

We now proceed to the other branch of foreign trade, with independent nations, which is extreamly convenient and neceſſary, in reſpect to fabricks. The people of Britain have greatly to ſpare of woollen goods, which many foreign nations want, who

who in return may pay in other admiſſable manufactures, in raw materials, or wines, or other produce for luxury, which, if pretty equal, anſwers the purpoſe of circulation, which is the main point; but gold and ſilver being of a laſting nature, and having in all places a certain value, where we have an opportunity of getting a ſhare of that return, ſuch trade is looked upon as the moſt important. — We have moſt greedily ſought all means of draining whatever country we have dealings with of their caſh, inſomuch, that they all take the alarm, even to Portugal; with whom gold and diamonds are principal articles of commerce: all which has ariſen from this cauſe; The people of Britain have been ſo jealous of their liberty, that they would by no means conſent to keep on foot ſuch armies, as the preſent faſhion of the Princes of Europe even made neceſſary; and the court by no means chuſing to encourage a military ſpirit among the people, of whom

they were jealous, was the cauſe of our being in a contemptible ſtate of weakneſs; this being known to both parties, they mutually agreed in taking care of the navy; and the court, willing ſomehow to have troops at command, formed thoſe ſubſidy treaties in Germany and the North.—Thus our diſconfidence at home, by degrees, led the nation into that labyrinth of croſs-politic and expenſive connexions, which has made ſuch a greedineſs for gold neceſſary!

As that diſconfidence ſubſides, and Britain again feels her ſtrength, the ſimple ſyſtem of politicks, which nature and her own ſituation point out, may be purſued. Independent of this, the trade with foreign nations, which ſupplies us with materials for manufactures, ſtores for war, or proviſions we may want, is of more ſolid uſe than returns of gold and ſilver, which, beyond a certain quantity, may ruin, inſtead of aſſiſting the manufactures and trade.

The

The quantities of gold and ſilver conſtantly running time immemorial to India, has been for ages a ſubject of great contemplation; they certainly are happy in a balance of trade.—Money is the ſinew of war, ſays one; wealth is the parent of power, ſays another;—what have theſe people done with their riches? they always were moſt contemptibly weak.—But then, how comes it that, in ſuch a courſe of years, there has not been collected in India, ſuch a quantity of gold and ſilver, as to render the value ſo low as to prevent the exportation of their fabricks which are bought with it? In all deſpotic countries, money, as gold and ſilver, being more eaſily hid, and certainly conveyed to poſterity, makes it of more value in itſelf; and what the government takes from the people is not expended among them again, but amaſſed together, and hid in ſecret places, by the Emperor and governors; but the great cauſe is in their religion, the Temples of which are magazines of immenſe treaſure; beſides, the

idea of wanting after death, in a future ſtate, cauſes vaſt quantities to be buried with the bodies of the rich, ſo ſecretly, as never to be found more; and very probably this opinion was inculcated by ſome wiſe law-giver, to carry off, and prevent the evil conſequence of, too great an increaſe of thoſe precious metals.

Thus, after draining Africa of Slaves, after torturing the poor Indians, after immenſe, fatigues, dangers, deaths; from the bowels of the mountains of Mexico and Peru, are drawn the ſhining ores, which, after dazzling the eyes of men for a time, are returned again to the Earth, and buried in India.

The importation of wines, fruits, or any article of luxury which is purchaſed by the labour of our artiſts, ought to be allowed; for the number of ingenious men will be in proportion to the employment for them; and the number of ingenious men are the riches of a nation, as in the number of warlike people lies the ſtrength of a nation.

nation.—From theſe principles let us examine the India trade. The manufactures introduced from India, and worn in Europe, which ſhall exceed the proportion exported to India, muſt in ſuch proportion leſſen the employment, and means of ſubſiſtence of the ingenious European; conſequently, as the imports do greatly exceed the exports, that trade muſt be pernicious to Europe in general. Britain ſees that in reſpect to itſelf, and makes laws to prevent their conſumption at home, or loads them with great duties, but the ſame precaution is not uſed in reſpect to the Colonies.

The Colonies ought to be conſidered as a part of ourſelves, and what is conſumed there, ſhould have a reference to the general ſyſtem; the conſumption of ſuch a quantity of India goods leſſens the conſumption of our own manufactures of the ſame kind, which are now brought to conſiderable perfection in Mancheſter; and this evil may be avoided, by laying a proper duty on all India goods, or foreign

manufactures whatever, imported into any of the Colonies; by which means money may be raiſed to leſſen the paper currency; and we ought the more readily to enter into this ſcheme, as the India goods are what principally drain them and us of gold and ſilver.—The only people gainers by the India trade are the Spaniards and Portugueſe, for, was it not for that conſumption, their riches in gold and ſilver mines would much faſter leſſen in their value. — The length of the voyage, and various climes paſſed through to India, added to the ill effects of the climate there to European conſtitutions, are cauſes of great mortality; ſo that the Europeans purchaſe with their blood a trade not beneficial to them in general, though it may to a ſmall trading republick, who can ſell to other nations the imports at a great advanced price.

Thus the India trade being in itſelf deſtructive, and admiſſable only in a defenſive manner, to prevent our being robbed by our neighbours, in the purchaſe of what

our luxury will by no means let us do without, makes it neceſſary that trade ſhould be carried on by a company, which will naturally prevent its too great extent, and by which means it may be regulated, and brought to ſuch a ſtandard as to do, as little evil as poſſible.

But, where trade is beneficial to the publick, there a monopoly is of the moſt ruinous conſequence; — it is aſtoniſhing, Britain ſhould have ſo ſmall a trade with the Turkiſh Empire; this deſerves to be ſeriouſly enquired into; if the fault lies on the company, as it is ſuſpected, let it be laid open;—'tis hard to contend with united bodies, a merchant who attempts it muſt be very ſtrong, or he will be overthrown; if he becomes dangerous, he is admitted into the party, and the caſe is altered: it is a public affair, and belongs to the magiſtrates of the city, to make themſelves maſters of the truth, and by a proper application they may get the evil remedied.

Nor is the nature of trade ſo great a ſecret, but it may be underſtood by men greatly above it, who may have the means of coming at truth, which is often carefully hid; it needs a Hercules to deſtroy a Hydra.—We have ſeen a patriot Prince promoting manufactures, and ſurely it is worth the pains of the greateſt to perform ſo great a good; the great may know the truth from the Miniſters at Conſtantinople, who are ſuppoſed capable of procuring exact intelligence, and will put no falſe colouring on the ſubject; the root of the evil once known, the remedy will be eaſy.

The little monopoly of Hudſons Bay is a grievance, and has been the means of our knowing very little of that country; beſides the ill conſequence of raiſing the price of materials for a manufacture, in which the French having been more cheaply ſupplied, loſt us the Portugal and Spaniſh trade in hats.—So great is our paſſion for exportation, that we are not content with cloathing our neighbours, but we muſt feed them

them likewiſe.—The cultivating the earth, and drawing from it the greateſt quantity of neceſſary ſuſtenance, has been one of the firſt objects of all wiſe law-givers; ſome have made it an article of religion, others by dividing the land into ſmall ſhares have forced the people to it from neceſſity.—Our conſtitution not ſuffering violent meaſures, the people have been encouraged to it, by hope of gain; and as the only article we can pretend to is wheat, the bounty on exportation, added to the aſtoniſhing quantity of late years made uſe of in the diſtillery, has made the art of huſbandry greatly attended to, and improved, which has been attended with this good conſequence; that we have not been ſo ſubject to ſcarcity, and corn has been upon an average cheaper than before the bounty was granted;—but the grand point and uſe of proviſions, is the increaſe of the people; has that good effect followed? ſurely the uſe of ſpirituous liquors has been, and is, of moſt pernicious conſequence,

ſequence, deſtructive of health, morals and population.

The article of export has been of ſervice to fetch back to the nation the caſh, which its own internal unhappy inquietudes have cauſed to be ſquandered abroad; but has added little to population. The additional labour of a few huſbandmen has been all, and ten huſbandmen will raiſe a vaſt quantity of grain; beſides, every day produces new inventions for ſaving of labour, inſomuch that, to procure the neceſſaries of life only, the labour divided among mankind, would ſcarce produce a ſweat; the great growers of corn employ as few hands as poſſible; and the ſale not depending on the neighbouring Hamlets and Villages, give themſelves little concern about them, or wiſh them away, for fear of the poor rates; the little farms are ſwallowed up:—the country for a great extent ſhall ſmile with the rich gifts of nature, while ſcarce a habitation appears; how beautiful this proſpect, was there added Villages and Towns,

full

full of laborious people, to consume them; how melancholy, when we consider the owner as depending on the distiller for his sale, or the merchant, who perhaps feeds our enemies, or those who hate and despitefully use us.—The making rivers navigable has been considered as a public good; but, when it is made use of to convey corn to market for the distiller or merchant, it is often pernicious, and has done great damage, witness the Towns of Newbery and Guilford, whose manufactures have been destroyed by that means.

CHAP. III.

Luxury.

WHEN society is once established, and the benefit of mutual assistance once felt, men never by inclination stop at the useful and necessary, they go on to the

the convenient, the delightful, the beautiful.

The ſatisfying of hunger is not ſufficient, there muſt be delicacies; ſecurity againſt the elements will not ſatisfy in cloathing; harmony and proportion is ſtudied, in which uſe is often leſs conſulted than a whimſical elegance; a houſe muſt have its internal and external ornaments; uſe, conveniency, and that true proportion which adds ſtrength to them, the beauty and perfection of the ſcience, even that is not ſufficient;—a ſickly fancy wanders and runs into a thouſand whims and changes; the whole world will ſcarce produce workmen or materials for its extravagancy.—Thus is luxury generated, a diſeaſe that grows up, in all civiliſed ſocieties, and has been a conſtant ſubject of declamation in all ages, as the ruin of States and Empires, and has in fact been ſo.—But the word Luxury has been uſed in ſuch an extenſive and indefinite manner, that, taken in its moderate ſenſe, it has been maintained with a ſhew of reaſon to be

uſeful

uſeful to ſocieties; therefore it may be neceſſary to explain it.—Luxury, when conſidered as a vice, is that exceſs of affection for any thing not abſolutely neceſſary, which ſhall ſubject a man to do, or ſuffer evil to be done.—A man ought not to debauch, and deſtroy his own body, much leſs ought he not to deſtroy his own reaſoning powers; if he deſtroys his own means of ſubſiſtence, and is obliged to eat the bread of ſervitude, he weakens the dignity of his own mind; but if he becomes dependent upon another, he loſes his own liberty, nor will ſuch a one ſcruple at enſlaving his country; indolence on one hand, and exceſs on the other, deſtroy more than the ſword, and entail the curſe of debility and diſeaſes on poſterity; another, more prudent as he thinks, puts the thought of poſterity aſide, himſelf and own private pleaſures occupy his whole ſoul, he foregoes the moſt tender tyes of nature, dares not become a huſband and father, leſt his indulgences ſhould be put an end to, or he may be deterred by the

the dread of expence from the luxury of the female ſex; in his latter days, if he eſcapes the puniſhment of diſeaſes, he feels himſelf ſolitary in the midſt of ſociety; he is the object of no ones love, and, what is worſe, he can find no object to love, or in whom he can delight; 'tis a bleſſing to be a miſer, that he may have ſomething, though an inſenſible object to employ his affections. — Such is luxury, and ſuch are the evils of luxury, individuals are deſtroyed, poſterity cut off, beſides the inevitable loſs of liberty, a never failing conſequence of its exceſs.—As for thoſe delightful benefits which ſociety enjoys from the arts and ſciences, when uſed in that moderation which produces no ill conſequence to the individual or poſterity, and are ſo uſeful in filling up the time, in employments of benefit or amuſement, they cannot be conſidered as a vice, nor properly be called a luxury,—men cannot find employment in what is meerly uſeful, a few will provide for the whole; therefore certain conditions

have

have a right to certain indulgences, but not all to the ſame; ſo that the ſame indulgence allowable in one, becomes a luxury and vice in another. — There have been many reaſons given for the great population of China; but it ſeems to ariſe chiefly from one maxim; a wife cannot put the huſband but to a certain very moderate expence; he is to allow her a ſufficient quantity of rice for food, and ſome raw cotton or materials for her to work up for her cloathing, while a mat to ſit on is the furniture of the houſe; thus every one is induced to marry, the conſequence of which is, that amazing population.

CHAP. IV.

Population, in general.

BEING now come to conſider Population in a more particular manner, with a view to application, we muſt conſider

ſider the progreſs though the different conditions of life, which muſt have place in all well conſtructed ſocieties, which reſembles a pyramid, the baſe of which is, the loweſt people, who are content with a ſupply of Nature's real wants, the common Artizans, the Ingenious, Maſters, Traders, Merchants, Gentry, Nobility, Monarch.-To theſe may be added the profeſſions that the violent and corrupt nature of man make neceſſary, as Divinity, Law, Phyſick and Military ; which include the moſt honourable employments, and afford the moſt ready means to attain to greatneſs.

Obſerve through the whole, how every rank is nouriſhed and kept up by the rank below it; men naturally aſpire, and every one wiſhes to ſqueeſe himſelf into the rank above him, in which ſome of the moſt active are conſtantly ſucceeding, by which ſome of the more negligent in the ſuperior ranks, are puſhed from their places; theſe are ſeldom capable, and never content to fall back and earn their bread in a humbler

ſtate;

ſtate; they generally take to hazardous employments, or try their fortune in diſtant countries, which cauſes a continual waſte of people; beſides, as the condition advances, there are ſo many circumſtances attended to for its ſupport, that, with the additional conſequences of indolence, luxury, and debauchery, the whole family ſhall frequently become extinct;—from this vice we may clearly ſee, that to increaſe the numbers, you muſt begin at the loweſt of all; for in proportion to the baſe will be the edifice, and the increaſing theſe kind of people is eaſy and of little coſt to landed gentlemen, who, having lately applied themſelves to arms, muſt know the vaſt conſequence of a patient, laborious, courageous, ſtrong, and faithful breed of men, and it is as much in their power to have them as a breed of horſes, and infinitely more proffitable. —The foreign trade which the Polanders carry on, by ſelling the produce of their lands to procure the luxury of French wines and foreign fabricks, is deteſted as

moſt

moſt pernicious, being a cauſe of the great miſery of the vaſſals, but whom the lord notwithſtanding chooſes to keep numerous, as being themſelves a part of his property; is the ſame action, leſs ſhameful in another place? becauſe inſtead of preſerving a miſerable people they are chaſed away.

Oh what a fine eſtate, not a cottage or ſcarce an inhabitant in the pariſh, no poor and the diſtiller or merchant takes off the whole crop together.—This ſolitary and depopulating ſyſtem has been but too much adopted in Britain, and ſtill more in Ireland where they have even got rid of plowmen and labourers, a few herdſmen being ſufficient for a large tract.

The Nobles and gentlemen of large landed poſſeſſions, are, or ought to be, the fathers and councellors of the ſociety, not in national aſſemblies only, but each in his private character,—to increaſe the numbers of hardy laborious people is the moſt important piece of patriotiſm they can employ themſelves about.

If

If that friend to mankind, Mr. Miller, had ſet down to conſider how a ſpot of ground of different kinds might be ſo cultivated and planted, and of what extent as would ſupply in food a family, a certain calculation might be made, but it will be found a very ſmall quantity, if good land; the next thing will be the dwellings to be ſo formed as to require but little firing. One hundred families planted as near togetheras poſſible will ſoon become of very conſiderable importance; in the mean time, as they were gathering, their labour would furniſh them with cloaths and to pay a ſmall rent, and their patron ſhould ſee them provided, as long as it was neceſſary, with materials for working up at the loweſt price, and have them inſtructed to furniſh among themſelves all poſſible neceſſaries.—All ſocieties muſt have had ſome ſuch beginning, and under the inſpection of a wiſe and good man the growth would be quick, and a man might live to ſee his plantation ſo far advanced as to yield good fruits, for when once

a ſociety

a ſociety is got to a certain head and advancement, it can well repay the little charges attending its infant nurſing; there are no profits can be ſo honourably obtained, no inheritance ſo illuſtrious.---ſuch a family muſt become powerful, but cannot be dangerouſly ſo; --- and thoſe who ſhall thus furniſh ſubjects have a right to employment and command, or in time of peace and repoſe if the hive ſhould fill too faſt, the younger branches at a ſmall expence might carry ſmall Colonies to America, where a few people bred together, and uſed to live in a ſmall compaſs, may ſoon form poſſeſſions to create the envy of elder brothers.

Should ſuch a ſpirit take place there is no judging how far population might be carried, the two iſlands would be capable of ſubſiſting twenty millions or more, for ſhould fleſh be ſcarce we have fiſheries in abundance, and for corn, if it ſhould be wanted, America could furniſh for fifty millions if encouraged and rejoice to exchange for fabricks.

FINIS.

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